R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 015 994 24 UD 005 110

A STUDY OF THE LEADERSHIP ROLE IN TITLE I PROGRAMS. FINAL REPORT.

XEROX CORP., ROCHESTER, N.Y.
REPORT NUMBER BR-6-2180 PUB DATE SEP 67
CONTRACT OEC-1-7-062180-0404
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.50 HC-$5.16 127P.

DESCRIPTORS- *FEDERAL PROGRAMS, *LEADERSHIP, *PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS, *SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT, *LEADERSHIP QUALITIES, SURVEYS, RESEARCH DESIGN, STAFF ROLE, FIELD INTERVIEWS, PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS, ESEA TITLE 1

THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY WAS TO DEVELOP A SERIES OF HYPOTHESES REGARDING THE LEADERSHIP AND SCHOOL CLIMATE CHARACTERISTICS THAT RELATE TO SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION OF PROJECTS FUNDED UNDER TITLE I OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965. UTILIZING AN INFORMAL FIELD SURVEY TECHNIQUE, INVESTIGATORS STUDIED A TOTAL OF 78 TITLE I PROJECTS, DISTRIBUTED AMONG 11 SCHOOL DISTRICTS. INTERVIEWS WERE HELD WITH 280 INDIVIDUALS FROM ALL LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL HIERARCHY AS WELL AS FROM THE COMMUNITY. BASED ON THE RESULTS OF THE FIELD SURVEY, 28 FACTORS RELATING TO THE PERSONALITY, BEHAVIOR, ATTITUDES, AND BACKGROUND OF THE LEADER ARE HYPOTHESIZED AS DETERMINANTS OF PROJECT SUCCESS. IN ADDITION, 27 SCHOOL CLIMATE CHARACTERISTICS ARE IDENTIFIED AS HAVING A MAJOR IMPACT UPON EFFECTIVE PERFORMANCE OF THE LEADERSHIP ROLE. A RESEARCH DESIGN IS PRESENTED TO TEST THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS UNDER VARYING ENVIRONMENTAL AND PROGRAM CONDITIONS. (NH)

ED015994

FINAL REPORT
Contract No.
OEC-1-7-062180-0404

BR6-2180
PA 24
05110

A Study of The Leadership Role In Title 1 Programs

October 1967

Prepared for Bureau of Research, Office of Education,
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

By XEROX Corporation.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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A STUDY OF THE LEADERSHIP ROLE IN TITLE I PROGRAMS

Bureau of Research, Office of Education
Contract No. OEC-1-7-0621800404

September 1967

UD 005 110

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

Xerox Corporation
New York, New York

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Xerox Corporation gratefully acknowledges the courtesy, interest and participation of the hundreds of people who gave of their time so readily to talk "Title I" with us. It was essentially the willingness of these people to express their ideas, opinions, complaints, problems and experiences that has made this report possible.

We would especially like to single out and thank those individuals in each school district who coordinated and scheduled our interview activities. Without exception, this difficult task was attacked with a spirit of cooperation and dedication.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Submission of this Final Report concludes a study of educational programs funded under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA). This document describes what we have seen, what we have heard and consequently what we have learned.

1.0 Purpose of Title I

Under the assumption that most of the readers of this report are well acquainted with the mechanics of Title I, we will limit our introduction to a statement of its objectives as defined so clearly in the ESEA, "Section 201 - Declaration of Policy":

> "In recognition of the special educational needs of children of low-income families and the impact that concentrations of low-income families have on the ability of local educational agencies to support adequate educational programs, the Congress hereby declares it to be the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance (as set forth in this title) to local educational agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various means (including preschool programs) which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children."

2.0 The Educationally Deprived Child

Educationally deprived, educationally disadvantaged and culturally deprived are a few of the many phrases which have been used to label or identify a section of the population on which educational and social institutions have concentrated vast resources and efforts. The meaning behind the words is the same - privation of the essential life needs necessary to the development of a socially, emotionally and physically healthy individual able to function in the world which surrounds him. In this report, we will apply the above phrases interchangeably to those children who are products of this privation.

Education represents only one need of the deprived child, although it potentially holds the greatest possibilities for breaking the "poverty cycle." In the United States, the present school structure is oriented toward the middle and upper-class child's experiences and values. Disadvantaged children, lacking these particular experiences and values, start their formal education behind middle-class children and lag increasingly from kindergarten through sixth grade. Unlike the middle-class child, he cannot usefully build upon the knowledge of his previous experiences which, for the most part, are inconsistent with his school's curriculum. The school system at present does not provide equality of education to children from all socio-economic levels, nor has it made a substantial effort to understand that the deprived child is a product of an entirely different way of life.

The disadvantaged child's way of life affects him physically, emotionally, socially and educationally. Most economically deprived children have a history of poor health and high absenteeism. Sanitary conditions and diet play a large part in creating this health problem, which is further aggravated by a lack of early diagnosis, proper treatment or preventive care. Socialization for the deprived child is often a negative and unstructured process. Family relationships are undermined by economic conditions, by "absentee" fathers and by abusive and violent behavior - the mother is often the strong dominant image. Continual moments of crisis and a sense of pessimism pervade daily routine. Stress is placed on the immediate gratification of needs and desires with little or no thought for the future. The deprived child has a poor image of himself. He is aware of his alienation from the main stream of American life. The over-crowded tenements, the lack of physical possessions, the surrounding neighborhood and the lack of privacy are constant reminders of how others see the disadvantaged child and of how he perceives himself. Upon entering school, the disadvantaged child is on foreign ground and his educational failures reinforce his negative self-image. Coming from a predominately non-verbal environment and lacking a variety of preschool educational experiences, the deprived child is very much alone.

3.0 Nature of the Problem

The school year of 1966-1967 is over. Title I is approximately two years old and there can be little doubt that it has had, and will continue to have, a tremendous impact on the behavior of local school officials. It has provided the impetus to force change upon those reluctant to do so. In other instances, it has given a spark of life to ideas and dreams long hidden away.

In terms of "hard" data there is much that is known about Title I and its programs. At the push of a button, computers can spew out information on amounts authorized, districts participating, program costs, types and numbers.

A major requirement of the Title I "system," however, is that every program provide for an evaluation of its success. It is commonly known that, thus far, the evaluation data compiled has been less than satisfactory. While there are undoubtedly many reasons for the initial failures of the evaluation sub-system, by far the most often heard and most vigorously defended reason is that "it is too early" for meaningful assessments to be made. Although there are strong arguments supporting the need for longitudinal evaluation, they do not negate the very real success differences between programs that are observable at this point in time. Since it is likely that these interim success differences will relate in a positive way to ultimate program success, there is an obvious need for research information pertaining to the causes of these differences. It is this need that has served as the rationale for the study described in this report.

In our search for a point of focus, it soon became clear that a multitude of factors have a potential influence upon program success. The classroom environment, the teacher/child relationship, the school structure, the role of the community, the leadership - all of these seemed worthwhile to research, but contract limitations required us to be selective. A choice had to be made.

4.0 Project[1] Leadership

To help us make our decision, numerous discussions were held with cognizant Office of Education personnel, educational researchers and local school officials. From these discussions, there emerged a consensus as to the strong influence of project leadership upon the success of any educational program. The general attitude was that the teacher is the "key," but that it is the leader who directs the key to the "door of success" and therefore has the strongest influence.

Accepting program leadership as the major area of interest was not based solely on the consensus described above. The value in pursuing such a course of study still depended on what we expected in the way of outcomes. In other words, in view of the voluminous literature on leadership, would it be worthwhile for us to investigate further? Could we honestly anticipate findings that differed from so-called normal leadership situations? When considering the relative homogeneity of the Title I target population, the problems of these children and the imbalance brought about by Title I within school systems and within school people, one immediately recognizes the

[1] The terms "project" and "program" are used interchangeably throughout this report and refer to specific activities of a district's total Title I plan: a reading project, a lunch program, etc.

possibility for atypical leadership requirements. These considerations, therefore, justify a study of the Title I leadership role as a worthwhile research task.

5.0 Purpose of the Study

If we accept the premise that programs designed for the educationally disadvantaged are of a different "breed" than what can be called "normal" programs, then a number of intriguing questions can be raised:

- are the appointed leaders the real or actual leaders?
- are there certain personality characteristics of leaders which enhance success?
- are there particular attitudes necessary for success?
- are there behaviors peculiar to program leaders which improve success probability?
- what impact does the school climate have upon a leader's effectiveness?

The answers to these questions may provide the key to the very real problem of discovering what it is that makes certain programs "take hold" while other programs with seemingly similar characteristics fail to stimulate interest or accomplish their goals. It was the general purpose of this study to examine these questions through actual program observation.

More specifically, the study was intended to provide (1) a series of testable hypotheses relating the nature and characteristics of school district environments, with special emphasis on leadership characteristics, to the success or failure of Title I programs and (2) research designs to test the significance of these hypotheses.

6.0 Content of Report

The balance of this report is divided into three major chapters. Chapter II, "Conduct of the Survey," describes the plans, procedures and materials utilized to carry out the information-gathering segment of the project - the field survey. This section also contains a summary of basic survey data including: districts visited, number and types of programs investigated and personnel interviewed.

Chapter III, "Findings," comprises the results, discussion and conclusions of the study. Since the intention of the survey was not to collect "hard" data, the usual charts and tables do not appear and, in their place, are incidents, examples, and other anecdotal materials obtained in the course of the field work. The fundamental purpose of this section is to set forth our hypotheses as to those factors in program success we derived from our experiences in the field.

Chapter IV, "Research Design," presents recommendations regarding further research efforts required to test the hypotheses suggested in the previous chapter. These recommendations cover information specifications, instrumentation, data sources, sampling conditions, field techniques and treatment of the data.

From this "bird's-eye" view of the report it should be obvious that our role in this research was to attempt to discover, within a leadership frame of reference, what is happening in Title I and, more important, why it is happening. Essentially, we served as reporters - reporting on how it is "out there."

CHAPTER II

CONDUCT OF THE SURVEY

I.0 Preparation for the Survey

The information presented in this section represents a chronological accounting of major activities that took place prior to the field survey itself.

I.1 Orientation Activities. In order to become familiar with Title I, a considerable amount of time and effort was spent in reviewing relevant literature and materials published by the Office of Education and certain state and local educational agencies. These materials were generally of the "guidance and direction" type and proved useful to our understanding of the complex requirements, procedures and responsibilities of the system. Other types of materials received from these sources included descriptions of selected Title I programs, data tabulations (e.g., amounts authorized, costs, etc.), preliminary evaluation data, and statements of problem areas.

Where available, reports of other investigations of Title I were obtained, reviewed and incorporated into the frame of reference with which we approached the field. When such reports were unavailable, discussions were held with the researchers involved.

Areas other than Title I that received our attention during the initial orientation phase included: school leadership, organization of school systems, the educationally deprived child, the decision-process in education, educational change and innovation, and Federal aid to public education.

As a supplement to the literature review described above, a considerable effort was made to solicit the views, attitudes and ideas of educational researchers and other expert individuals. A complete listing of persons contacted for this purpose appears in Appendix A.

I.2 Pilot Survey. Despite the comprehensive character of the literature review, we soon realized that in order to gain a true understanding of Title I, direct, first-hand experience would be necessary. We needed to meet the school people involved, to see projects in action, to observe the children - in short, to develop a "feel" for the situation. The appropriate design of our survey, in terms of techniques, instrumentation, interviewees, scheduling and subject matter areas was dependent upon an accurate appraisal of what the "beast" was really like. For these reasons, it was decided to conduct a pilot survey.

Making use of professional and personal contacts within the school community, we made arrangements to visit, during the period of March 13 to March 27, 1967, selected school personnel in six cities. Table 1 provides a listing of the cities involved and a summary of the personnel interviewed. It should be pointed out that, in view of the objectives of the pilot survey as well as the self-imposed time limitations, the depth to which the interviews were carried out varied with each city. In Rochester and Elizabeth, for example, a considerable number of people were interviewed at all levels, whereas in Union, we held discussions with top level personnel only (e.g., Director of Federal Projects).

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF PILOT SURVEY CONDUCTED
March 13 to March 27, 1967

Participating Cities	Personnel Interviewed
New Rochelle, New York Elizabeth, New Jersey Union, New Jersey Rochester, New York Niagara Falls, New York Boston, Massachusetts	1 Board Member 2 Superintendents 6 Directors of Federal Projects (or equivalent) 5 Title I Coordinators 9 Central Office Supervisors 5 Business Managers 10 Principals 5 Teachers 3 Community Leaders 46

1.3 Selection of the Survey Sample. Because of our need to complete the survey prior to the end of the 1967 school year, informal channels were used to select the survey sample. After compiling a sizable list of school systems to which Xerox staff members had informal access (through professional or personal contacts), eleven systems were chosen as potential participants (see Table 2).

Although it was not our primary intention to develop a nationally representative sample, factors such as school district size, general nature of the district (urban vs. rural) and geographical location were taken into consideration, as well as the degree and speed of cooperation expected. As can be observed, the areas involved in the survey represent a fairly good sample of school systems participating in Title I.

Initial contacts with the selected school districts were made by telephone to the individuals identified in Table 2. After briefly explaining our intentions, tentative agreements were obtained from all of the districts and mutually convenient dates were decided upon (see Table 2). Follow-up letters were sent in confirmation of the telephone agreements and letters were also sent to the State Departments of Education concerned, informing them of our plans. Appendices B and C contain sample copies of these letters.

1.4 Training of Interviewers. Immediately after the survey schedule was established, an in-house search for qualified field interviewers began. Utilizing prior interviewing experience and educational background as criteria, a group of ten people was selected.

A two-day orientation and training session was held on April 27 and 28 for the interviewing team. The purpose of the first day's meeting was to provide general background information about the objectives of the project, the ESEA and Title I. A considerable amount of reading material was disseminated including information taken from Government publications and other sources concerning the purpose, administration and organization of Title I, case studies of successful projects and recognized problems associated with Title I. A film describing Title I and entitled "The Last Generation" (prepared by the Kentucky State Department of Education) was also shown and discussed.

The second day of training was devoted to the interview procedure. The interview approach was to be informal and no questionnaires or other structured devices were to be used. Interviewers were instructed to transcribe all the information obtained during each interview on the Interview Summary Form. A great deal of time was spent in reviewing this form so that the

TABLE 2

PARTICIPANTS IN FIELD SURVEY

School District	Dates Visited	Initial Contact
Phoenix, Arizona	May 1 - 5	Mr. John Murphy, Administrative Assistant to the Superintendent
Scranton, Pennsylvania	May 1 - 5	Dr. Richard McNichols, Superintendent of Schools
New Haven, Connecticut	May 1 - 5	Mr. Samuel Nash, Director of Federal Projects
Syracuse, New York	May 8 - 12	Mr. M. Balmer, Staff Director of Special Projects
New Orleans, Louisiana	May 8 - 12	Dr. Malcolm S. Rosenberg, Deputy Superintendent of Schools
Torrance, California	May 8 - 11	Mr. Robert Allen, Title I Project Director
Norwalk La Mirada, California	May 8 - 11	Mr. Ross D. Jarvis, Assistant to the Superintendent
Minneapolis, Minnesota	May 15 - 19	Dr. Donald Bevis, Director of Federal Projects
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	May 15 - 19	Mr. David Horowitz, Director of Planning
Amsterdam, New York	May 22 - 24	Dr. William Tecler, Director of Federal Projects
LeFlore County, Mississippi	June 6 - 9	Mr. Otis Allen, Superintendent of Schools

interviewers would be able to appropriately guide the discussions and obtain all necessary information. Appendix D contains copies of the Interview Summary Form and the instructions for completing it.

As further guidance for the interviewers, simulated interviews were presented by the staff members who had participated in the pilot survey. Our intention was to provide realistic examples in preparation for situations that would probably occur in the field.

2.0 Survey Methodology

This section describes the procedures actually utilized in carrying out the field work.

2.1 Interview Technique. An informal interview procedure was decided upon as the most effective means of achieving our objective: to uncover determinants of program success. Descriptors of our "informal procedure" include: loosely structured conversations, no forms, questionnaires, or recording devices, promises of anonymity, and on-work location interviews.

It was expected that such an approach would provide us with more qualitative information than could be obtained from a formal and structured format. The informality of the interviews would more likely put the respondents at ease, resulting in greater confidence in the interviewer and ultimately better cooperation and more honest responses. The importance of good rapport takes on greater significance in these interview situations since the probing was to deal, primarily, with the history of the project and the personalities and behaviors of the people involved. The very sensitive nature of these topics demanded not only skillful interviewers, but also a methodology that would encourage and facilitate the data flow.

The direction of the questioning was left up to the individual interviewers. During their training, they were made aware of the general information requirements of the study but, with the exception of the first interview (see below), they were free to pursue these topics in any order or to any depth they found appropriate. This provided the flexibility needed to probe for the most significant findings and to explore them as fully as possible. As a result, it was not unusual for an interview to cover only one or two points of interest - this frequently occurred when the respondent was highly verbal and had a particular "bone to chew" or idea to discuss.

As indicated previously, there were no forms to complete at the interview

site. The interviewers simply took notes of the discussion which they later privately transferred to the Interview Summary Form.

2.2 Procedure. In each community, the initial interview was held either with the Superintendent or the staff member responsible for the development of the district's Title I program. The interviewers' specific objectives of these meetings were to:

a. explain more fully the purpose of the project and the procedure we intended to follow,
b. gain a general understanding of how the district planned and organized for Title I,
c. determine the number and types of projects that were funded under Title I,
d. select the projects to be studied, and
e. arrange interviews with the individuals having the major responsibility in the selected projects.

After the initial interview the team generally split up, with each interviewer assigned to investigate different projects. For the most part, each interviewer was responsible for setting up his own schedule and for insuring that an adequate study of each project was performed. This typically meant that the interviewer would meet with the project leaders, project staff, school administrators and school staff. Whenever possible, the interviewer would follow up on these basic interviews by observing the program in action and/or by holding meetings with individuals well-acquainted with the project, but who were not school employees (e.g., PTA member, Community Action Agency representative, etc.).

Table 3 provides a summary of the 280 people interviewed, categorized loosely by position. The relatively small number of board members and community people seen can be explained partly by the tendency of school officials to steer us away from these supposedly "less informed" individuals, and partly by our extremely full schedule of carrying out basic interviews with project and school personnel. As noted, we were successful in meeting with only 3 of the 11 Superintendents (although all were aware of our presence). Obviously, the informality of the arrangements and the unobtrusive role we attempted to portray had the unfortunate side-effect of minimizing the importance of our visit.

2.3 Selection of Projects. During the course of the field work, 78 Title I projects were investigated. Table 4 presents a categorization of these projects in terms of their primary function. Of the total, 40 were innovative in nature - innovative being defined as representing a new objec-

TABLE 3

PERSONNEL INTERVIEWED DURING FIELD SURVEY

Position	Number of Interviewees
Board Members	2
Superintendents	3
Deputy/Assistant Superintendents	8
Directors/Assistant Directors of Federal Projects (or equivalent)	18
Central Office Supervisors	49
Central Office Consultants/Specialists	28
Principals/Assistant Principals	48
School Supervisors	20
School Consultants/Specialists	8
Teachers	69
Librarians	3
School Aides (e. g., Teacher Aides)	11
Community Representatives	13
	280

TABLE 4

PROJECTS INVESTIGATED

Project Classification	Number
Reading	7
Remedial	12
Instructional and Curriculum Development	10
Teacher Training and Assistance	11
Health and Welfare	8
Special Education (e. g., for retarded)	7
Pre-school	4
Cultural Enrichment	6
Library Services	6
Guidance, Counseling and Psychological Services	4
Community Relations	3
	78

tive for the district, a novel approach or as being experimental in character. The remaining 38 projects were considered to be additive - the project was simply more of, or an extension of what was already in existence.

Two factors were involved in the selection of projects for study. First and foremost was the "success rating" of the project, and second was the total number of projects currently in effect. If the total number was small enough, we investigated all the programs regardless of success ratings. However, if there were more projects than could be adequately studied within the time allowance, the selections were based on the ratings.

Since the purpose of the study was to identify leadership characteristics influencing the success or failure of projects, it was necessary to apply some index of success to the projects being investigated. A three-item rating scale of success was used in the following way: at the initial interview the school people attending were asked to identify the projects which, from the district's point of view, were "successful" and those that were "unsuccessful" (obviously very few of the latter were so identified) - success being defined as "meeting its objectives". Having made this selection, they were asked to identify from among the successful projects those that were "outstanding" or "highlights of the district." This permitted us to cluster the projects into three groupings - outstanding, successful and unsuccessful. We then chose to study the outstanding and unsuccessful groups of projects, and selected from among the large group of successful projects on the basis of personal interest of the interviewers. Of the 78 projects we investigated, 35 were rated as outstanding, 34 as successful and 9 as unsuccessful.

Obviously, the validity of the success criterion employed is highly suspect. But what were our alternatives? We could have asked to see objective indices of success, such as achievement scores or attitude change, but our pilot survey experiences indicated quite strongly that most districts would not be able to provide such data for their projects - either they would be opposed to the concept of evaluation, or they simply would not have gotten "around to it." Any attempts to seek out such information would have jeopardized our position as informal observers, classified us as "evaluators" (a dirty word among some school people) and thereby reduced the effectiveness of our interview technique.

Another alternative was to let each interviewer decide for himself the degree of project success. This alternative was discounted primarily because we could not provide adequate objective criteria by which to make such judgments. Lacking such criteria, this would have meant that each interviewer had to judge the success of a project subjectively, based upon his own unique experiences and observations. Since the personal biases and attitudes of the

interviewers, as well as their comparative exposures to projects, would be varied, there could be no way of insuring relatively standardized success criteria.

Although we could not eliminate the effect of personal bias in the rating procedure by defining success as meeting a project's objectives, each district was provided with the same frame of reference by which to rate the projects. In addition, the person doing the rating (i.e., Superintendent or Director of Federal Projects) was, in all cases, acquainted with each of the projects to approximately the same degree.

It should be pointed out that, in general, the interviewers' assessments of the projects were very closely in agreement with the project ratings. Any major discrepancies were noted and the content of the respective interviews were interpreted accordingly.

CHAPTER III

FINDINGS

This chapter of the report presents the results and conclusions drawn from the field survey. Section 1.0 provides findings incidental to the objectives of the study but relevant to an overall assessment of Title I. Section 2.0 discusses the leadership role in Title I in terms of who the leaders are and how they can be identified. Section 3.0 deals with general determinants of project success and Section 4.0 with specific leadership and environmental characteristics associated with successful Title I projects.

1.0 General Observations

Although our specific purpose in conducting the survey was to uncover determinants of program success, other incidental findings were to be expected. The most interesting of these are briefly presented in this section.

1.1 Integration. One of the related statutes of the ESEA Act is Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which states that "No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." Programs under Title I of ESEA must be operated in compliance with this law. In fact, integrated quality education is one of the major objectives of Title I.

Surprisingly, we found that Title I funds are often reinforcing segregation rather than fostering integration. As intended, funds are being used to strengthen the education of disadvantaged children who are predominantly found in slum or ghetto areas, and whose schools are racially segregated. Improving these schools, however, does not remedy the basic problem - geographic isolation. The result has been: segregated schools with better materials, programs and facilities - but segregated schools nonetheless. Realistically, the improvement of segregated schools has not and will not attract white children of varying economic classes into impoverished areas. It appears that only in some of the "fringe" schools, where smaller percentages of children qualify for Title I funds, has there been any gain toward a more integrated educational experience.

The impact of this unexpected fostering of segregation has been felt within the community. Responsible leaders view Title I with suspicion because it hinders their integration goals and provides resources for the segregationist.

As one community leader put it, "The money is building up the ghetto schools instead of tearing them down."

I.2 Private and Parochial Schools. ESEA provides for the participation of both private and parochial schools in Title I projects, but prohibits the direct payment of Title I funds for use in these schools. In many communities, the relationship between public and private schools with regard to Title I has been found mutually beneficial. In other instances, however, parochial schools have received more than a fair share in relation to the needs of public schools in the district. Title I 'gifts' have been occasionally used to placate certain powerful private educational institutions, while public schools have had to do without. This "bend over backwards" attitude, in one particular school district we visited, has caused bitter feelings on the part of some public school personnel. Private school participation in Title I has not been defined clearly enough to insure that the disadvantaged population in public schools are receiving their maximum benefits.

I.3 Politics. The selection of projects and schools participating in these projects is usually made at the central office level. In many school districts the central office promotes the participation of principals, supervisors and other school staff in these decisions. Careful consideration is given to varying educational needs in different sections of the district and the existing personnel in the schools. When the parcelling out of Title I programs is determined in such a systematic manner, according to needs and resources, the probability of overall effectiveness is heightened. During the field research, however, we discovered a number of alleged instances where political contingencies overruled these considerations. Programs, participating schools and leaders were decided upon on the basis of friendships, personal power and protection of interests.

In one large city, for example, the local board of education vetoed all requests for a free lunch program because they did not want to admit that there was a need for such a program in that city. In another district, a principal complained of being purposely left out of a program because she was not with the "in-crowd." In still another school district, the board of education decided who would receive which Title I programs, with no consultation or involvement of individual schools. Principals suddenly found projects and staffs thrust upon them with no consideration as to whether they wanted these programs or could even handle them at that time.

Internal politics in another school district resulted in continual rumors and low morale. Each level of the educational system, from the state down, was involved in some way. Questions and arguments concerning who gets how much and when divided the district into a number of opposing camps.

When word spread that there was a budget cut in some area, the various factions were suspicious that this was just another political maneuver on somebody's part. Obviously, schools were not being served in the most effective way, and leaders were becoming more concerned with getting their share of the bounty than with the operation of the programs.

I.4 Temporary Nature of Title I. The temporary nature of Title I has precipitated a variety of difficulties which tend to thwart the growth rate of Title I projects. Staffing, space, materials and future plans are all in some state of flux. Key educators in each district expressed their concern about the general feeling of insecurity on the part of the staff. Not knowing from year to year whether their jobs would be available, has discouraged some talented educators from involving themselves in Title I. In several districts, staff that choose to work in Title I programs lose their tenure and cannot always return to their previous positions. The tension associated with job instability has produced many undesirable effects in staff morale. In one school district, the Title I Coordinator took the position only on the condition that he would be absorbed into the school system if Title I was not renewed.

Lack of sufficient space to house Title I projects has been another major difficulty. School districts have been hesitant to supply permanent quarters for Title I projects because of their short life expectancy. Many schools have inadequate makeshift space that has dampened the spirits of both staff and students. Title I classrooms were found in boiler rooms, basements, auditoriums and gymnasiums, and libraries were housed in renovated storage closets. Flimsy partitions, temporary constructions, poor lighting and acoustics are no protection against noise and distractions and are not conducive to better learning experiences.

Appropriate materials for the disadvantaged population are scarce. Isolated work groups and corporations are busily attempting to produce new materials for the disadvantaged student in order to keep up with the growing market, but the demand is still much greater than the supply. In many instances, school staff personnel attempted to develop curricula and materials as they worked with the children, but the specter of a shortened project dissuades development and refinement of such materials. Ordering existing materials has also turned into a fiasco for Title I administrators. Each year books and supplies must be ordered, but funding approvals come so late in the year that by the time they get the go-ahead, they must wait months for materials to arrive. Instead of having the proper space and supplies to begin with, the projects have had to improvise and make do.

Future plans for Title I projects are also in a state of limbo - one must plan everything on a temporary basis and remain flexible enough to adapt to

whatever happens to develop. Projects are created with fairly short-term goals which may be changed from year to year depending on the funding. This lack of continuity is evident everywhere. Although some districts have been able to "pick up the tabs" and continue projects which have been cut or terminated, many have not been as resourceful and consequently, worthwhile projects have had to be dropped.

2.0 Leadership in Title I

Recent research on leadership has shown that the concept of a classical "leader-type" is invalid and that, instead, leadership will vary with the nature, circumstances and conditions of the task and group. In this sub-section, we will examine the leader in the Title I situation, concentrating on who he is and how he can be identified. Later on in the report (Section III, 4.0), we will identify the skills, traits and behaviors characteristic of "successful" Title I leaders.

During the survey we observed, spoke to and spoke about many leaders at all levels within the school hierarchy. Some were outstanding in their role, others were barely adequate and still others were failing. In order to provide a broad overview, and hopefully an appreciation of what generally constitutes good and poor leadership, we are presenting excerpts from interview reports with two highly contrasting Title I leaders. The first report describes a very successful project director functioning from a central office position and the second, a principal, miscast and highly ineffective in her role as school head. Obviously, these are the extreme cases - the majority of leaders fall somewhere between.

2.1 Interview with an Effective Leader. This report on Mrs. X is the result of a three-day learning experience with a remarkable woman who most nearly personifies the ideal leader of a Title I project. Our interviewer was so impressed with her work, her attitude and her rapport with staff and children that she devoted as much time as possible to interviewing and watching her in action. Although many effective leaders were observed during the field survey, none had a total involvement and truly innovative spirit to equal Mrs. X's. Her work strongly reinforces the hypothesis that the human element is the predominant factor in Title I program success.

> "When our team first arrived in school district Z, the Director of Title I strongly suggested that we include Mrs. X's program as one of the most outstanding ones. When Mrs. X's name was mentioned during these initial meetings, it was always with a tone of reverence and awe.

"When I first met Mrs. X, she was annoyed and unreceptive because the central office had not notified her of my visit and had sent me over with no regard as to whether she wanted to see me or not. Somehow I survived the first gruelling hour when she put me through the mill by shooting a series of questions at me. I found out about 2-1/2 hours later that she was testing me to see whether I was sincere and whether she felt it would be beneficial for both of us to spend time together during the week. I passed the test and then proceeded to find out what makes Mrs. X 'tick'.

"Without a formal training in math or reading she has developed a learning concept and materials which have affected the entire country and made her widely known and respected among educators. Prior to her involvement with the project, Mrs. X worked in an independent school in a suburban community where she had the freedom to experiment with new approaches and techniques. The board of education in school district Z wanted to lure Mrs. X into the school system at a time when the school structure was in a general state of flux. The Director of Planning was chosen to approach Mrs. X and offer her the opportunity to design an innovative program in a school during 1963. Mrs. X took the job on the condition that she have all the 'elbow room' she needed and that she be hired as a consultant without pay for the first year until she could determine how well the situation was going to work out.

"In September 1964, Mrs. X initiated her project at a school where the principal was highly receptive to her philosophy. By 1967 there were nine schools involved. Plans for next year involve further development of her project in several of the nine schools which have growth points rather than an expansion of the project into new schools. Schools which are considered to have strong growth points are

those whose environment is conducive to the expansion of the project. The environment refers to the attitude of the principal and the staff. If there are teachers who are interested in using the techniques and materials in their own classrooms and the principal encourages this procedure, the project will begin to reach its eventual goal of infiltrating the entire system.

"In schools which do have growth points, Mrs. X works very closely with the principal in selecting staff. She expressed having an intuitive feeling about whether an individual is right for the position. Her own perceptive questioning and experience with all types of individuals enables her to make a fast and sound decision. Mrs. X searches out the sensitive individual who has the strength and self-confidence to accept the new and mold it into a workable situation - someone who enjoys adventure and freedom and who is flexible enough to roll with the punches. Working with disadvantaged children in an innovative setting places a great burden on a good teacher and demands tremendous loyalty and dedication. All the qualities that Mrs. X desires in her staff, she herself possesses in great depth. Education is her way of life and every minute of the day she is thinking of new ways to reach her staff and the children. She told me that for her, each day must be a learning experience and that is why it is very important to constantly be aware - to have all one's senses alert - to take stock and question 'What did I learn today and what opportunities did I pass up?' Once Mrs. X likes you, she immediately trusts you enough to share her ideas, her insights and her dreams.

"My second meeting with Mrs. X allowed me to see her in action teaching a group of fifteen 4th graders from a ghetto school. She was giving a demonstration of various new methods to a group comprising her project

teachers, principals, and other teachers interested in utilizing her techniques in their classrooms. Logically, one would have expected the children to be greatly intimidated by the presence of twenty adult educators but, on the contrary, they were almost totally engrossed in Mrs. X's learning games. In fact, during some parts of the lesson, the teachers themselves became so enthused that they began answering questions intended for the children. Mrs. X established an immediate rapport with the class by involving them in first deciphering a coded letter on the blackboard and then having them write her a reply letter. Even the poorest readers did exceptionally well. When the children became confused about certain points, she would invent another game spontaneously to clarify the concept. She related all of her work to the children's background and scope of experience.

"After the class, the teachers asked questions, discussed and challenged some of Mrs. X's techniques. Mrs. X had obviously captured both her adult and student audience. She took pains to try and make clear to the group what each game signified and what variations could be introduced. As the teachers were leaving, I could hear them excitedly talking among themselves about what they had observed. No one was passive or untouched.

"My final meeting with Mrs. X took place on a Friday afternoon during a staff meeting. All the teachers and assistants come together every week to discuss problems, new approaches, projects they are working on, or to write up curricula on the methods they are using. Their meetings are very similar to group-therapy sessions. They talk frankly to one another and sometimes become involved in very emotional discussions. They constructively criticize and they strengthen one another by giving group support and understanding. Mrs. X explained

that they are members of a closely knit family who, at different times, take on a mother, peer or child relationship with her. This effective interaction and communication has enabled them to keep their programs stimulating and to fight for what they are doing in the face of opposition. The group comes from a variety of background and age groups.

"When I was introduced at the meeting, Mrs. X encouraged me to take over and discuss with them whatever I wanted. The teachers were very responsive and eager to give me their ideas. Mrs. X participated as if she were a peer of the group. They pointed out some of the difficulties they were having in their schools with the principal and other teachers. Most of them felt separated from the rest of the school and each had to cope with her problems in a different way. They all ran their activities differently depending on their particular personalities and skills. I asked whether they felt they all had something in common which made their project so successful and unique. After much debate they decided that, as a group, they were 'young at heart' and flexible, they were receptive to new things, they supported each other, they were willing to fight for what they believed and they all had a great love of children. Mrs. X stressed that they are all sensitive to the children, to each other and to their work. I was particularly impressed with their mixture of realism and idealism. They are aware of the situation they are faced with, but at the same time they fervently believe that they can effect a change in the system.

"Mrs. X looks upon her group with tremendous pride. Whenever a teacher leaves, she searches hard and long for a replacement. She has lured people from Harvard and other universities to work with her, and she is presently arranging for a man from England to join her group next year."

2.2 Interview with an Ineffective Leader. Although Miss A, a white principal in a predominantly Negro school, is not the leader of a particular Title I project, the school is her domain and the two Title I projects housed within the school are strongly affected by her attitudes and behavior. No matter how forward-looking the central staff, the principal largely determines the success of an individual project in the school. Central office people advised us that her school was among the least effective in the district.

> "Miss A is in her late 50's and has been a principal of the same school for 23 years. She is a resident of the city and has come up the ranks of the school system to her present position. Miss A is the epitome of what a leader should not be: disinterested, highly emotional, and lacking in objectivity toward her job. Her expressed dislike and fear of the Negro are further aggravated by the fact that the school, which is presently 90% Negro, was formerly all white. She openly shows her resentment toward the children and toward the system that put her in her current situation. She calls the Negro children 'things' and talks about them with a sense of disgust. She believes that the Negro child is inherently stupid and that little can be done for him. In response to an inquiry concerning the gifted Negro child, she replied, 'The only thing they are gifted in is rhythm - it's in their bones.'
>
> "After observing and discussing the projects, I realized that hers was the perfect case of a principal destroying the effectiveness of her staff through her attitude. Clearly the Title I projects in her school fail to function because Miss A will not let them function. She does not take any overt steps to halt the progress of a project but, through her disinterested and negative comments, her attitude comes across, resulting in low staff morale, ineffectual projects and unhappy children.
>
> "Miss A's personal prejudices make her an extremely inflexible person who is easily

frustrated and resistant to change. She cannot handle discipline problems and therefore resorts to strong punitive measures, which only aggravate the situation. A Title I teacher on her staff indicated that Miss A has neither self-control nor control over the children.

"When I spoke to her about communications among Title I principals, she knew nothing about what they were doing in other schools and didn't really express much interest in learning more. She communicates informally with her staff, and this enables her to clearly convey her attitude toward the children and the school. Her faculty has an 80% turnover rate, a clear indication of the poor morale of the staff. There is no PTA in the school and, due to her fear of the population, she makes only a half-hearted attempt to reach the parents. For example, she stated that she 'wouldn't stay at the school in the evenings to meet with parents because it wasn't safe.'

"Miss A knows little of the purpose or the operation of the Title I projects in the school. She thinks Title I is a good thing, but that is the most she would commit herself to. Obviously, only a new principal could uplift the spirit of the school and provide a more conducive atmosphere for success."

2.3 Identification of the Title I Leader. During the course of a project's development, many individuals emerge with responsibility and authority indicative of a leadership role. The central office staff member responsible for funding of the project, the coordinator of all Title I projects, the individual who has functional jurisdiction over the project, the person assigned to implement the project, the principal who accepts the project into his school - all of these, at some point in time, have a critical role to play, but which of them has the maximum influence on the "success or failure" of the project?

On the basis of our pilot experiences and preliminary research, we contend that the leadership level which has the greatest impact on the behaviors and attitudes of the project staff is the most crucial for program success. This is

the level of leadership closest to the "front lines" or "where the action is." Therefore, for the balance of the report, unless noted otherwise, the expression "Title I leader" refers to the level just defined.

In terms of basic responsibilities, the Title I leader generally:

(1) plans the implementation procedures and staff assignments,
(2) directs, motivates and evaluates the project-associated behaviors of staff,
(3) maintains direct communication channels with project staff,
(4) makes initial attempts to resolve all project-associated problems, including personal problems of staff. In short, he is the first-line supervisor.

Most official project leaders are recruited from central office staff positions, although it is not unusual to see school building personnel serving in that capacity. Occasionally, consultants or specialists from outside the school system are hired to direct the projects - this occurs most often in the larger school districts where outsiders are more easily incorporated into the system. There are a number of criteria utilized in selecting leaders - the most frequently used is functional jurisdiction. If, for example, a special reading program is designed, then the district reading supervisor is assigned as leader, regardless of his interest, his other responsibilities or his credentials. Other criteria include previous experience with the population, specific skills, interest in the program, availability, personal status and rank.

Thus far, we have talked about titular project heads - those who are supposed to be the leaders. In the field, we observed many instances where headship was not leadership and where others, both superiors and subordinates, have informally taken over the functions and the responsibilities described previously. In these cases, we considered the substitute as the leader and conducted our research accordingly. Similarly, principals of participating schools can be identified as Title I leaders in that they often shoulder these same basic responsibilities within their schools.

In summary, a Title I leader can be a top school official, a central office supervisor, a school administrator or a school staff member. He can be a school consultant or specialist or he can be a non-school individual - he can be from the community or he can come from another city - he can be the officially designated leader or he can be an informal leader - he can be one person or he can be a number of people (e.g., all principals of project schools are leaders of the same project). He can be almost anyone, and to identify him one must look not at the organization structure or the project

write-up, but instead at the carrying out of the responsibilities described above.

3.0 Major Determinants of Project Success

The results of the survey have clearly shown that successful realization of a project's objectives is dependent upon the relationship between three major variables - the people involved in the project, the school environment in which they function and the nature of the program. In this section, each variable will be briefly defined and their interrelationship will be shown.

3.1 People Factor. Undoubtedly, it is the people who run the program who have the greatest influence upon a program's success. We refer here to all of the individuals who play an active role in its implementation: teachers, specialists, principals, supervisors, central office staff, community volunteers, etc. Every one of these individuals brings to the project certain personality traits, attitudes, skills, aptitudes, needs and behavior patterns, that can influence the success or failure of the project. In section 4.0, we will identify the characteristics of the Title I leader that promote success.

3.2 Environment Factor. Environment or climate refers to the district "umbrella" under which school people must function. The district's philosophy towards education, its organizational structure, its attitudes toward Federal aid to education and toward the disadvantaged, its history, its communications network - all of these can be included among the components that make up the environment, the frame of reference which serves to guide and direct behavior.

Environments can be classified in a number of ways depending upon the specific environmental components or characteristics of interest. Liberal vs. conservative philosophy, open vs. closed system, formal vs. informal communications network, centralized vs. decentralized organization, are all examples of such categorizations. Our field observations have pointed out still another "natural" dichotomy - "cohesive vs. diverse" school systems.

A cohesive district is generally of smaller size, emphasizes informal behavior and exhibits little attitude variation among its personnel - such districts can be likened to "families" or "teams." The diverse district is usually larger, much more formal and compartmentalized and characterized by the formation of cliques, divergent viewpoints and individual interests.

3.3 Program Factor. The third variable affecting a program's probability of success is the nature of the program itself - its objectives, goals, scope and characteristics. If these are realistic and relevant to the needs of the community, success probability is enhanced, but if they are unrealistic and unduly complex, the program cannot succeed, regardless of the people and the environment involved. In one district, for example, we heard of a project that failed simply because it required the hiring of ten psychologists, an impossibility in the area's labor market.

As in the case of the environment variable, the nature of programs can be categorized in a number of ways. Typically such classifications are made in terms of the function of the project, the population affected, the experimental nature of the project and project size. The "additive-innovative" dichotomy described previously (page 11) is still another method of identifying the nature of the program.

3.4 Interaction of the Three Major Factors. The three factors defined above are so interrelated in any given school district that it is sometimes difficult to separate them. Accepting the premise that people are the primary force behind successful Title I programs, we must look upon the environment and the nature of the program as modifiers which can either facilitate or hamper their effectiveness. What is needed for a Title I program to fulfill its potential is a proper blending of people to the environment and to the program.

In terms of leaders, for example, different types are needed in liberal and conservative communities. In liberal school districts, where the prevailing attitude is one of freedom and flexibility, the most successful Title I projects are in the hands of leaders who are willing to take chances and "rock the boat," who are creative and desire to try new things. Obviously, a fairly passive and highly structured individual would not function as successfully in this environment. In conservative environments, the most successful Title I leaders are individuals who follow the district's educational policies, slowly introduce Title I projects into the schools, and do not overstep predetermined boundaries.

Similarly, the nature of the program can enhance or limit the leader's efficiency. Our research has shown that innovative programs cause a greater degree of imbalance in the system, that is, the more innovative the project, the greater the resulting dissonance. Among the characteristics noted as necessary for a successful leader of highly innovative Title I programs are: courage to fight for what he believes, ability to withstand criticism and capacity to initiate and be action-oriented. In situations where Title I programs are additive, effective leadership characteristics include the ability

to work within the existing framework, to organize, and to relate to group goals and norms. The leader of an additive program seems to fit the traditional definition of good leadership, while the innovative leader requires certain extra "ingredients."

These illustrations of the interaction between leaders and the environment, and between leaders and the program, imply a three-way interaction as well. Leaders of innovative programs in conservative environments will differ from leaders of innovative programs in liberal environments just as additive programs in conservative or liberal environments will stress different leadership traits.

Thus, each program can be seen as having a different "distance to travel" to attain its' goals. The length of the road and difficulty of the journey are determined by the people involved, the environment and the nature of the program.

As a final note, it should be pointed out that programs which do not achieve their goals may often be considered more successful in terms of "distance traveled," than those that have nearly fulfilled their original objectives. Figure 1 illustrates this occurrence. It clearly shows the impact that "distance to travel" has upon the success probability of any project and also indicates the difficulties associated with attempts to compare and evaluate programs. In the examples shown, Project B appears as the more successful project, yet Project A has traveled further.

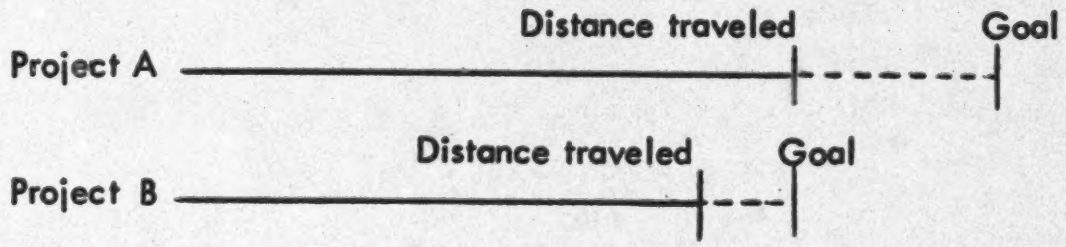

Figure 1. Comparison of two projects in terms of distance traveled.

Project A is an experimental school, set up in a large school district against a good deal of initial resentment. The primary aims of the program are complex because they involve curriculum development, teacher training and new techniques for reaching the exceptionally slow child. The district has not given a great deal of support to the program and it has been the leader's job to prove that it can succeed in spite of the opposition. The project leader is a principal with an excellent background in working with the disadvantaged. He is a "rock the boat" type who has gathered around him a loyal and hard working staff. At the present time they have a long way to go before they complete their journey and achieve success.

Project B is a library program found in another school district. Its primary aim is to set up libraries in elementary schools and introduce audio-visual materials. The leader is a librarian who is experienced in her field. She is a hard worker, but not a very dynamic or creative individual. The school district, although conservative, approves of her project and has given her a great deal of support. At present, her program has almost reached its goals.

4.0 Leadership Factors Related to Project Success

In this section we will present our survey findings regarding the specific leader characteristics that have an influence upon the success of Title I projects. In addition, we will identify and describe the school district climate factors that have a major impact upon effective performance of the project leadership role. In total, there are twelve clusters of factors — seven pertain to leader traits and behavior and five to school climate.

It should be kept in mind that although the factors described below are concerned with the role of the project leader specifically, many of them are clearly applicable to other participants in Title I activities. The traits of empathy and adaptability, for example, are as important, and perhaps more important, for the Title I teacher and principal as they are for the project leader. Hence our findings go beyond the objectives of the study; much of what we have to say is relevant not only to the project leader but, in varying degrees, to superintendents, central office personnel, principals, teachers and all other Title I associated individuals.

Before introducing the clusters, it should be pointed out that the leadership characteristics selected as success determinants are those that are highly specific to the Title I situation. Each of these can be shown as relating directly to the unique problems and characteristics of the disadvantaged population. Our exclusion of general leadership traits does not imply a rejection of the body of research that supports the influence of such characteristics as: leadership style, organizing ability, administrative knowledge, need for achievement, etc. What is known about these and other such factors is undoubtedly applicable in the Title I situation, and we, therefore, accept them as general plus ingredients for effective leadership. Our immediate concern, however, is with the leadership qualities specific to Title I.

4.1 Leadership Characteristics

4.1.1 Empathy. Identification with the feelings and ideas of the target population is the one factor most frequently and emphatically mentioned as necessary to the success of the projects. Agreement on the importance of this factor runs from the Superintendent level down to and

including the teaching staff. What is this "identification"? How can it be described? It is perhaps best illustrated through the comments of Title I participants:

> "She believes in the youths in her class and understands their problems."
>
> "He has faith in the innate good qualities and abilities of all children."
>
> "The problems of growing up in poverty homes have to be thoroughly understood."
>
> "I look for people who empathize, who can stand dirt and smell."
>
> "You need warmth, you have to be able to relate to the children and the parents."
>
> "He feels at home in the company of the boys in his classes."
>
> "When Mrs. X worked in a Negro district, her husband said she became a Negro. Now sometimes I (a Mexican principal) think she's more Mexican than I am."
>
> "It's just as easy to love a dirty kid as a clean one, it's not his fault if he hasn't had a bath."
>
> "These children are love-starved. It's the warmth I give them that has made this program a success. Some of the children are surprised if I hug them."
>
> "There are teachers who can't put their arms around dirty kids. They shouldn't be working with these children."

Hence, love for children in general, empathy for the disadvantaged in particular, identification and/or understanding, confidence in the children's innate ability and an attitude of concern are basic ingredients for the individual to function successfully in Title I activities.

Generally speaking, working experience with the disadvantaged is a plus in that it provides the necessary setting for the individual to develop a sense of empathy. One "old-timer," new to the disadvantaged, commented, "I've lived here all my life and I never knew this existed." Another stated that "The effort of my staff gathered impetus as they saw deeper into the plight of the target population." Experience is not sufficient, however, when a predisposition for empathy is absent. An example of this occurred in a small school district with a relatively minor poverty problem. The person chosen to run the project in one school is a "real lady," white gloves and all. She

teaches her class rigidly, imposes her own personal standards, and does not respond to the group. There is no joy in the children, no discussion of personal relationships. She is leaving the project after two years, and why? Because she believes, "The children don't try . . . they don't appreciate what is offered them . . . they are lazy and unmotivated." Obviously, working experience did not help here. Nor did it have any significant effect upon a white southern principal who, two years after integration, still maintained, ". . . Negro children lie more than other kids . . . they curse incessantly . . . their parents are lazy and immoral in the way they live."

As a final note regarding working background, it should be mentioned that highly professional qualities and love of children can sometimes substitute for lack of experience with the disadvantaged. In one project, for example, a kindergarten teacher with fifteen years experience in "regular" schools had immediate success with a class of children from poverty homes. "I just love four-year olds" was her simple comment.

Two kinds of people were noted as being particularly effective in projects requiring a high degree of interpersonal involvement — those who demonstrate a clear and observable identity with the group served (ethnically and demographically), and those who, through previous experience such as Peace Corps, Welfare, Community Action, etc., have acquired a feeling of identification with the group.

An example of the former kind is shown in the following description of Bill, the head of an extremely successful project dealing with a high number of potential dropouts.

Bill, a Negro, knows the boys (all Negroes) in his program. He knows their homes, their hangouts, their hang-ups. He expresses himself in the street vernacular and lives in the neighborhood he serves. He does a large share of the project's promotion by meeting the parents and the boys in their homes, churches, bars, and on street corners, if necessary. Bill has been through it himself and hence can identify with the boys. In short, he is a "soul brother."

One of the boys in Bill's program put it this way when asked to explain his liking of the project leader, "Bill is different. He doesn't act grand and superior like some teachers do . . . he doesn't try to show off how smart he is . . . and he tells us straight."

From our talks with people like Bill, it soon became clear that an emotional involvement and bona fide interest in the children are vital to the effectiveness of the project except, of course, where the project is primarily impersonal and of the "hardware" type (e.g., audio-visual equipment, stocking the library shelves, etc.). Although the relationship between involvement

with the poor and success is basically a positive one, the influence of this variable turns negative at the extreme. A classic example of this was the project head who was so involved with the children that he had neither time nor patience for his staff. The project as a result failed.

The predictability of successful leadership is directly related to the personal motivations for working with the Title I population. For some, it is simply the satisfaction that comes with doing a difficult job well and seeing improvement:

> "The work brought me out of myself."
>
> "I get a real kick from seeing these kids blossom."
>
> "Mary was very withdrawn and afraid. Now she's gaining confidence and talking. That does your heart good."
>
> "I derive a great deal of personal satisfaction from the relationships that develop with these kids. One boy just sits in the regular classroom — here he's always asking to read to me."

For others, Title I brings the achievement of a long-lasting goal:

> "I fought for fifteen years to get a library in here."
>
> "We are going to expand this program into the whole school district."
>
> "We have the most innovative program in the city — we could never have gotton it under way on our own."

Certainly, not all of the people in Title I are well motivated. Some are self-seeking, ambitious, and are using Title I as a means of gaining personal recognition and getting ahead. Occasionally, these types of leaders run successful projects — their intense drive to be successful overcoming any lack of real interest in the children. Others have no motivation to speak of, they are assigned the job and they function with apathy and disinterest. These individuals usually respond to questions concerning their motivations with: "The project was dumped on me," . . . "I don't know why, I have more than enough to do without it," . . . "It's just another job," etc. Any program that succeeds with this type of individual at the helm, does so in spite of, rather than because of, him.

The person who is genuinely motivated to "do good," generally brings with him the sense of involvement necessary to make the project go: the science teacher who is so anxious to help that he goes to the homes of his pupils to fix their television sets, the staff members who give of their own free time to

resolve project and pupil problems, the medical director of a health project who has given up his private practice to work full-time on the project and when asked why, explains, "Middle-class women have all the good medical help they need." These are but a few examples of the behaviors of people motivated by a desire to help.

Many educators, however, are less enthusiastic about the "do good" type of individual, believing that he often hinders a programs's progress:

> "I look for people who empathize with the population, but who don't become sloppy sentimentalists."
>
> "Kids need someone to understand them and also to bawl the hell out of them."
>
> "You cannot become 'one of the boys.' These kids need someone they can respect, that they can model themselves after."

The primary objection to the "do-gooders" is that they are so wrapped up in wanting to help, they become too permissive and, hence, ineffectual. An example of this occurred in a summer program for boys in which a number of male university students were engaged. These young men were so deeply interested in "the plight of the disadvantaged," they were unable to provide the type of authoritative understanding needed; the boys were "running all over them."

Thus, it appears a proper blending of realism and idealism is the optimum — a clear understanding of the needs of the children and goals of the program together with a sincere desire to help the less fortunate.

4.1.2 Educational Philosophy. Our study indicated that several attitudes concerning the education of disadvantaged children correlate with successful leadership. Foremost among these is the belief that educating a deprived child is quite different from teaching the "normal" child. The following quotations are indicative of this attitude:

> "These boys can think — they have to, in order to make it on the street — but they can't function in the classroom. They have withdrawn from a system that humiliates them and punishes them for not meeting established standards that they were never properly prepared to meet in the first place."
>
> "In many ways these children are alike, their lives at home are disorganized and limited, their lack of experience is a prime cause of many of their language problems."

"Most of the children don't have anything they are working for. The key to understanding them is that they have a very poor opinion of their own worth."

"Conditions at home are not conducive to study. And some of the kids rarely come to school. Their parents don't have enough clothes for all of them."

"Many of them act dumb. They are just hungry."

"The kids act as though they don't care. But they really feel that they don't count."

"They seem passive and slow — they lead very drab lives."

All of these comments imply an awareness that the disadvantaged child must be treated and dealt with in a manner different from that which is provided by the on-going, middle-class oriented system. But what should the approach be?

Most successful leaders expressed an attitude indicative of a "total approach" to the child. They could not be satisfied coping only with educational problems, while well aware that the causes of these problems result from deeper social, physical and family difficulties. Behaviors characteristic of such an attitude include: visits to the community and home, help in resolving non-school problems, after-school discussions of personal problems, and statements such as the following:

"You are not going to change these children's self-concepts through reading, writing and arithmetic. You must get in touch with them as human beings. The staff must learn about the whole child."

"The benefits of the project go beyond learning a skill. They provide the children who have had few success experiences in school with a chance to taste successful achievement."

"Free lunch is fine. But many of the children and their families also need clothing and health care. You can't separate their body from their mind."

"You have to provide motivation rather than skill. Give one child an extra needed break or special attention and you've done more than if you take 30 kids through the routine of a given subject matter."

"I don't criticize them. I make each child feel important. Being part of the program gives the boys a strong feeling of belonging and prestige — the very thing they are particularly short of in all their other social dealings."

"I want teachers who are more interested in changing behavior patterns than in covering a given span of subject matter on schedule."

"There is too much middle-classness here. The teachers can't seem to handle small disciplinary problems, they look at the surface behavior of the children and take punitive action, thinking that the child should not act that way."

Another index of the total approach individual is a negative appraisal of most current teaching materials and policies:

"The books available contain so much that is foreign to these children. Everybody's clean and blond...These children know none of this."

"Standard tests fail to take into account the language and cultural background of ethnic groups who make up a large part of our population."

"A unified grading system favors the children with middle-class early education."

"The test (standardized) asks the child to identify a typewriter. Naturally he gets it wrong — he never saw a typewriter."

In view of the highly personal educator/child relationship characteristic of a total approach, it follows that an educational philosophy oriented to the background, experiences and problems of the individual child would also relate positively to successful project leadership. The comments listed above clearly indicate that successful leaders recognize the value of and need for individualized attention. Numerous incidents were cited where behavior consistent with this attitude paid off in terms of "happier and more productive" students:

"I made an attempt to learn about their background — you should not attempt to destroy the children's native culture. You can't make them respect our culture unless they respect their own."

"The secondary benefits are that recognizing the Spanish language and culture as a fact of life gives these children a sense of status and security that they had missed up to then in their school experience."

"They also appreciate having the teacher learn the Spanish pronunciation of their names."

"Children classified as passive and slow-learners opened up in class when they found someone could understand them in their own language."

"I make a point of visiting the home of every child I teach."

"Our project leader visits the homes of all children who show particular difficulty in communicating."

There is still another educational belief that appears relevant to successful leadership. Related to the general issue of attitude toward Federal aid to to education is the more specific attitude toward the purpose, procedures and policy of Title I. Our field observations have indicated a rather wide spectrum of opinions on this issue, with a positive attitude being the most frequent among successful leaders.

The reactions obtained ranged from high enthusiasm: "Title I has been a shot in the arm to the school system, just what the doctor ordered," to total opposition: "It is unfair that money should be spent exclusively on the disadvantaged . . . the children don't really take advantage of it . . . money is wasted on them . . . the middle-class taxpayers complain about it . . . their children don't benefit from it." Those few people opposing Title I were mostly guided by practical consideration: it meant more work for them, their regular teaching staff was being raided, their "bosses" opposed it, etc.

Occasionally, we found plain indifference or apathy. This was particularly apparent at the principal level where a lack of knowledge about the whole concept and even the projects operating in their schools was often observed. Obviously, there were communication breakdowns — a major factor in negative or neutral attitudes towards Title I. Apathy also results from unrealized hopes and goals, in other words, where early Title I failures and upsets dampen initial enthusiasm.

The project participants who meet with the greatest degree of success are those who view Title I with an expectation of progress tempered by the realities of the immediate situation and the complexity of the task at hand. These people see Title I as the means for putting across long range plans:

"We have not seen any phenomenal success, but we are glad to have the programs. Sometimes we get frustrated because we haven't been having the success we wanted. But the children are trying, and they are being stimulated."

"It's a device that will pay off in the future if we have the time to use it properly."

"These programs are geared to meet the long-range needs of the community."

4.1.3 Flexibility. As indicated in the previous section (Educational Philosophy), recognition of the need for new approaches to the resolution of educational problems of the disadvantaged is an attribute of successful Title I leaders. Let us now examine some concrete illustrations of the qualities and behaviors of individuals who exhibit this attitude.

A teacher, frustrated by the lack of suitable materials, decided to use no books at all. She explained: "We need to get their own stories out of them. In essence, the children write their own books. I feel very strongly that we learn by what comes out of us and not by what goes into us." Another teacher employs a tape-recorder in her instruction in order to have the children hear the language they read, a language very different from their own.

A project leader determined the curriculum for a Home Economics class by holding discussions with the students. In one such discussion, a Mexican girl commented that she would be laughed out of the house if she attempted to make French toast; when asked what she wanted to learn, she replied, "Fifteen ways to make beans taste good." "Beans" was soon in the curriculum.

In one project, a boy exhibited an extreme curiosity about narcotics. The teacher, recognizing the "crossroads," decided to handle the situation by getting him books on the subject. His rationale — "Knowledge makes judgment possible." Another boy, when faced with a difficult vocabulary assignment, reacted negatively, "I can't do this. Too deep. Impossible." The teacher suggested that he use the words in a composition to "cut somebody up." *The "impossible task" was made possible.*

All of these examples point to flexibility as critical to finding the "hot button" which turns these kids on. Working with disadvantaged children cannot be based upon ill-conceived and rigid standards of behavior. What is needed are people who can bend and adjust to the ever-changing world.

Project heads of outstanding programs were noted as being extremely adaptable to the immediate demands of the situation. They would not be bound by strict rules of the system nor limited by past experience. One such leader permitted a girl without a social security card to work despite rules to the contrary. Another allowed the children to take home books and records, overruling the opposition of the teachers who feared breakage.

A third agreed to keep a boy in a remedial class despite the fact that he no longer needed the instruction, recognizing that the boy's emotional attachment to the teacher and other students had value above and beyond the mechanics of the class.

Each of the leaders cited in the above examples exhibited not only flexibility, an adaptation to the particular conditions of the problem, but also a sense of creativity and imagination. It is one thing to be willing to change, but another to create the right kind of change. Hence we can hypothesize that creativity and imagination are related in a positive way to successful leadership in Title I.

Testing new ideas, bending the rules, taking calculated risks, and working with a relative unknown (the disadvantaged), suggest that flexible project leaders function within a personal frame of reference that includes " the right to fail and make mistakes." This, in turn, presupposes a high degree of self-confidence and sense of security. If either of these traits is lacking, then rigidity of behavior will ensue with strong reliance upon external crutches — rules, procedures, protocol, standards, etc. It was not unusual to find projects bogged down in red tape with project heads lacking the confidence to skirt tradition and take chances. Expressions such as "It's not my job," "That's the way it's always been done," "It would be breaking the rules," are typical of such individuals.

The sense of security needed to get the job done can evolve out of one's personal status within the school community, from one's professional skills and expertise, or from financial independence. An example of the last is the project leader who has sufficient finances not to feel threatened by loss of a job through failure of his project and hence, as he puts it, "inundates his project with innovations." Unfortunately there are few of these individuals. Because of the insecurity associated with Title I activities, people with high need for security will probably avoid involvement. However, in many districts, assignment of leaders and staff to projects is not voluntary and consequently, many individuals functioning in Title I do not exhibit the flexibility associated with successful leadership behavior.

Aside from their role in flexibility, self confidence and security are also factors in leaders' ability to establish and maintain rapport with the children. One particularly perceptive leader remarked,"The children must know you at your worst. Many boys have developed a resentment against teachers because the teachers are insecure and as a consequence, they don't level with the students. These children's responses are not the same as other kids; you have to learn not to mind that. They are very honest — and very cruel sometimes in their honesty. You got to be able to take it."

Another personality characteristic of flexible leaders is an ability to tolerate frustration. The complexity of the problems of the disadvantaged, the newness of Title I, the resistance to change found within and outside the school system, the lack of knowledge and experience in dealing with the population are just a few of the many obstacles a project leader may have to face.

Undoubtedly there are frustrations and failures, and the successful leader must be able to cope with them and somehow keep going. This is not an easy task particularly for people who, by and large, are used to success via their association with middle-class education. Success with the disadvantaged does not come as easily.

As previously indicated, the general effect of initial failures and difficulties is a dampening of enthusiasm for the project. A high tolerance for frustration and an optimistic outlook are needed to keep the project functioning at its optimum level. A good example of this occurred in a project where the physical working conditions were extremely frustrating and almost intolerable. The classroom was the stage of an auditorium, out-houses were but a few feet away, the roof leaked, the principal was difficult to get along with and, for more than a dozen years, the reading levels of the students were the lowest in the city. Despite these conditions, the staff was confident and hard-working and the results have been highly commendable.

Sometimes the problems are too much, and either the project fails or replacements are made. One staff member became ill and was forced to leave the program — diagnosis: inability to "take it," to adapt to unstructured situations. In another incident, a principal suffered a "nervous collapse" as a result of not being able to adjust to changes brought about by integration.

The question of whether or not age is related to the characteristics of flexibility, and hence to success, is an intriguing one. The answer appears to be yes.

Most of the school people we spoke to considered youth to be a very desirable trait, although a few prefaced their comments with such qualifying words as mature, dependable, responsible, reliable, etc. Reasons given in support of youth included: "The older they are, the less motion in the programs," "Older librarians are too set in their ways, they are afraid of new things," "Younger staffs seem to have a better rapport with the young people," "Younger people are more flexible."

From our observations, it appears that the prime age for project leadership is within the range of 35-45, varying with the nature of the environment and the program. For example, most of the successful leaders of additive programs in cohesive districts appear to be around 45, whereas successful innovative projects in that setting are usually headed by younger people (around 35). It should be noted, however, that the youthful qualities desirable for effective leadership (flexibility, drive, enthusiasm, etc.) may be more a state of mind than a statistical fact, therefore one should not be surprised to see a "youth" of 50 or 60 running a successful project, or an "old man" of 30

failing to do the job. Thus, we can conclude by stating that Title I needs individuals who are young in behavior and attitude — generally speaking, this appears to be a function of age.

4.1.4 Drive. It was the general consensus of the interviewers that a number of characteristics classified under the concept of "drive" play a major role in setting the pace and tone of a project and hence are directly related to success. The level of enthusiasm exhibited by the project leader is one of these factors. Aside from the beneficial effects of this variable upon his own work efforts, an enthusiastic leader tends to instill similar enthusiasm among his staff and others associated with the project.

One Title I leader of a library program gratefully acknowledged that "Title I has been a shot in the arm to the school system. The projects are a beehive of activity in which enthusiasm is contagious from the top levels on down." Her vitality is evident in the high morale and dedication of her staff. Another project leader, however, found that he had to double his efforts because, "I need to endorse, encourage and counsel with teachers individually a great deal because I'm very enthusiastic, and so far they are not — or at least not as much."

In successful projects, the leader's enthusiasm is usually coupled with a sense of dissatisfaction with the Title I project he is directing. This constructive need to constantly reorient and reshape his approach and never be completely satisfied with the results of his work keeps the project alive and does not allow it to fall into a complacent routine, or become just another program.

Another characteristic of drive level is the degree of personal commitment to the project. Directing a Title I project usually requires more than eight hours a day — it necessitates a total involvement which in turn requires a dedication and energy "beyond the call of duty." As one project leader aptly stated, "A Title I leader must have a complete involvement, nothing halfway . . . he must be immersed in the job all the way and work a lot of extra hours." He spoke of a project leader he knew who developed "battle fatigue" after awhile because he "threw himself into the job with his whole heart." A good example of thorough involvement was the leader who came to be known as "the fairy godmother of the district," and who "carries clothes around in the trunk of her car in order to fill some families' needs on the spot . . . In the last year, she has discovered every agency in the city that has supplies of free food and never leaves a family without food in the house." One Negro boy in her district, with an athletic scholarship to college, was injured during a football game and could not afford the necessary operation; she convinced her brother to do the operation free and she solicited donations to cover the hospital expenses.

Observations of successful innovative program leaders indicate that they generally exhibit a commitment level greater than leaders of successful additive programs. This is undoubtedly due to the difficulties associated with attempts to bring about change — a fundamental objective of innovation.

A good index of commitment is the amount of research activity a leader engages in. The effective leader recognizes the value of careful research in the planning, development and evaluation of his project. The leader of an Instructional Materials Center "did a lot of research, both independently and with consultants and staff members to set up the Instructional Materials Center." He added, "I visited other districts with similar projects and tried to extract those things I thought might work for us." Upon observing his Instructional Materials Center, it was immediately apparent that a lot of hard work had gone into its development and that his staff were proud to be part of the team.

A total commitment to an innovative Title I project calls for a leader who is willing to take chances in the face of possible failure and who fights strongly for what he believes. This fighting spirit is not as necessary in additive programs, because these projects cover paths previously traveled and "battles" already won.

In one district, the leader of a project for pregnant teenagers has been waging a running battle with the establishment, but has been gaining ground due to her perseverance and dedication. Her Title I project provides prenatal training and services, as well as continued academic work. Her ideas on the fate of the newborn children are in sharp conflict with the Children's Center, the adoption agency with which she must work. Through her experience with the disadvantaged population, she has come to believe that the home can often be a better place for the baby than an adoption environment. Since the Negro family does not place the same stigma upon illegitimacy as the white middle-class family, she feels that if a mother wants to keep her child and can provide a suitable environment for it, the child should remain with the mother. The adoption center has accused this project leader of "trying to set up a new society." This project's temporary success is primarily due to the perseverance of its leader.

In another district, the leader of an audio-visual project is conservative in his approach. He tackles problems and obstacles only when "acceptable solutions are in sight." When probed about the progress of Title I, his pat answer was, "You can't expect miracles." His parting phrase as the interviewer took his leave was, "The last guy who tried working miracles was nailed to a cross." Fortunately, since his project was basically of the hardware type rather than direct service, his lack of spirit was not as detrimental as it might have been.

The leader who fights for his project must be aware of the limits or boundaries of the "ring" in which he fights. In other words, he must have the freedom to fail but he must also live within the rules and mores of the system. Awareness of this was expressed by a leader of a community school project who vowed he would "buck the crowd" in pushing for his project demands but yet knew that there were certain people he could not oppose such as the Superintendent.

Some leaders, through their own actions and attitudes, can induce their staff to be adventurous, take a chance, make a mistake, and start all over again — while others tend to inhibit the pioneering spirit of their workers. A teacher in a remedial program complained, "I have so many ideas — so many new things I wanted to try. Title I looked like the answer, the opportunity to move away from the traditional approach and experiment. I've been very disappointed. My supervisor sticks to the book and puts a damper on everything I want to do. I try to work around her, but what can I do, she is my supervisor." Instead of encouraging this talented and enthusiastic teacher to work on her own and initiate new materials and approaches, this project leader is thwarting her growth and the growth of the project.

Another characteristic of drive is the ability of the project leader to be self-starting and action-oriented. Most of the interviewers reported that successful Title I projects develop where the leader can operate with very little direction from above in implementing ideas. Many unsuccessful administrators get bogged down in meetings, planning and paper work and never seem to take action. This "head in the clouds" type of leader will not be effective in Title I projects. The short-life potential of Title I and the vast amount of work that has to be done require a leader who can roll up his sleeves, dig right in, and produce.

Title I has very little precendent to fall back on — thus the leader must often make his own rules and procedures. A lack of initiative and action will result in projects "creeping along at a snail's pace." The principal of a community school we visited was also the project leader in his school. Upon arrival at the job last year, he found that he had inherited a situation where the school was in complete chaos due to the inertia of the previous principal. The staff, the community and the student body were all in revolt against the school. Without fanfare or elaborate speeches, the principal mobilized his forces and totally immersed himself in the task of making the school a desirable place in which to learn. In one short year, absenteeism had sharply decreased, there were teachers on waiting lists wishing to be appointed to the school, and the community actively wanted to help in any way it could. How did this drastic turnabout occur? The principal utilized the resources of Title I to "pull the school up by its bootstraps." Gradually, staff and community joined his one man bandwagon, and put forth a united effort to rise above the existing circumstances.

4.1.5 Leadership Approach. There is much in the literature on leadership relating style to effective performance of the leader's role. The influence of style has generic application to all problem-solving situations, including Title I. However, several specific behaviors associated with an individual's approach to a Title I leadership role have particular relevance to his effectiveness in that role. The Title I leader's position requires a strong emphasis on teamwork, heavy involvement of staff in decision-making and the establishment of an identifiable image for both the staff and the students.

Many Title I projects are growth projects, requiring constant refinement of objectives and curriculum. These projects are not intended to follow "the book" but, instead, are to continually seek out new methods and materials which will effectively reach the target population. The very nature of innovative projects necessitates close working relationships between the leader and his staff, in order to achieve some measure of success. Consequently, leaders whose approach is authoritarian and self-centered will generally meet with failure more often than leaders who exhibit a democratic and teamwork style.

"The more the lowest level of participants in Title I are involved in some part of the planning, the better the chances for success." The project leader who made this statement came from a district where a self-study was carried out prior to the initiation of Title I. The purpose of the study was to determine the educational needs of the district and the types of programs required to upgrade the skills of the disadvantaged children. Every teacher participated in the study, and many of the policy decisions for what later became Title I projects were decided collectively during this research. This project leader felt that, "Because the teachers themselves made the decisions, they were automatically committed to the success of the program resulting in greater enthusiasm and interest." It was interesting to note that for the most part, the project leaders of this district continued to involve teachers in planning, even after the implementation of the projects.

In a different school district, a project called "Improving Communications Skills" was considered highly successful because of the project leader's careful planning at the beginning of the project. He virtually insured the cooperation of teachers and principals by having them participate in the decisions as to the specific activities necessary to achieve project goals. Part of the project concerned the training of teacher aides and, here too, the leader involved the project staff in determining how this training could be most effectively carried out. This exchange and interaction among all levels of staff "paved the way for effective communications and cooperation during the following months. No one was afraid to have their say because they knew that what they had to say was considered important."

The positive impact of staff participation in planning is strengthened when the leader follows up with a general teamwork attitude, since only a concerted effort can overcome the multitude of problems connected with programs attempting to bring about change. Since the project leader sets the example, it is obviously vital that he demonstrate a positive belief in teamwork. One project leader accomplished this simply by asking: "What do you think? Shall we do this? What are the alternatives? What can you suggest from your previous experiences?" His staff are anxious to give their opinions and they feel highly rewarded when their ideas are implemented. Most leaders hold meetings with their staff, but only the efficient ones use these meetings to foster teamwork by listening to ideas, solutions, recommendations, etc.

Besides helping the project directly, teamwork can provide indirect advantages via improvement in staff members' performance. Certain staff weaknesses can be strengthened by the cooperative atmosphere created by teamwork. In one project, a non-reader in the 7th grade was also a behavior problem. The teacher aide did not know how to cope with this particular child and consultation with the teacher had not satisfied him. He went to the consultant to discuss the difficulty and try to work out a solution. Together they mapped out a program, obtained the approval of the teacher and principal, and finally implemented the plan which was successful. The excellent rapport among the staff enabled the aide to help himself, the child and the project.

A teamwork attitude also requires a willingness to credit subordinates and associates. One leader interviewed spoke only about his contribution to the project. The interviewer became suspicious and, upon further investigation, discovered the deep resentment of the project staff toward the leader's "taking all the credit" for the work they were doing. Low staff morale resulting from the leader's lack of praise or acknowledgment of their effort was evident in the staff's, "it's not worth it anymore" attitude. On the other hand, the project leader of a music program praised his staff very highly: "They work well under pressure, many of them have only twenty minutes free time between 8 a. m. and 3:30 p. m. They are tremendous." It is obvious which project staff puts forth the most effort.

As indicated previously, innovative or experimental programs place greater demands on a leader's association with his staff. Beyond teamwork attitude, the leader must create a working relationship that is characterized by closeness and informality. In such relationships, an atmosphere is created where both leaders and staff members feel free to criticize and support each other's beliefs, dreams and ideas. Conferences and meetings are not concerned with formalities and procedures, but become instead group therapy sessions - a thrashing out of anxieties, problems and new suggestions.

In the project for pregnant teen-agers, the leader stressed that a close relationship be developed among staff. Everyone connected with this project spoke of the excellent communications resulting from the weekly staff meetings. The project leader said she "borrowed the brainstorming sessions idea from the advertising world. Everyone is on a first-name basis to remove all status, and all are free to criticize each other, no matter whether a doctor or anyone else. Our conferences tend to be introspective - we want to get to the root of it all."

Often, close staff interaction resembles a family situation with members assuming different roles at different times. The project leader may be the authority figure at one session and a group peer at another. One leader of a highly innovative program has created so great an atmosphere of freedom that, one everning a teacher drove out to her house highly distressed because a number of staff members were becoming disinterested in some of the workshops. The teacher discussed in great length what she felt the problem was, and how the project leader might correct it. Their talk lasted well into the night.

The building of this type of relationship has been facilitated for one project leader by holding a number of unstructured social gatherings for staff outside of the school where they peel off their professional masks and be themselves. He finds these "get-togethers" especially beneficial during stress situations, "Personnel tend to be most highly motivated when communications with their superiors are close, informal, personal and supportive. A first-name basis type of camaraderie seems more desirable than a formalized, highly structured superior-subordinate relationship."

In additive Title I projects, where a close relationship is not as essential, it is still very important for the project leader to maintain visibility and accessibility to staff. No matter what the environment or project, a leader who is visible and available will tend to have greater success than the individual who makes himself scarce. When a project leader is "out of touch," communications lag, enthusiasm wanes, and a general letdown ensues. Several staff members of one project reported that the leader set up obstacles and was difficult to reach. More time was spent tracking down Mr. X than getting work done. It is appropriate to point out at this point that the availability of a project leader is often directly related to the amount of non-project responsibilities he has. This will be discussed in Section III, para. 4.2.4.

Project leaders must also be accessible and visible to the children and the community in order to develop mutual empathy, understanding and respect. There is an obvious need for direct contact with these groups and only those leaders who maintain an open door policy, and who move about the community can satisfy this need. During one of our interviews, pupils kept bursting in

unannounced in the middle of the conversation. Despite the interruptions, the leader welcomed the children and held brief discussions with them. He explained to the interviewer that it was his policy to encourage student interaction and that his "door was never closed to them."

Equally important to success is the nature of the image presented by the leader. A substantial number of people interviewed, at all levels, indicated a belief that success is facilitated when the leader projects an image with which the children and the staff can identify. The staff seeks the individual whose leadership style commands respect, who is influential, devoted, enthusiastic, fair, etc. The children, on the other hand, look for more concrete and obvious signs such as age, sex, race and residence in the community.

Many respondents raised the point that ghetto children live in a basically "female-dominated society" and hence they need "a good male image." A principal in one school started classes for boys only: "All the boys are fatherless and need a male image. I used the strongest looking male teacher I could find. The boy-teacher relationship has been very rewarding. We have much better attendance and learning improvement." In another district, the project leader is a young Negro male who still lives in the ghetto area. The boys immediately identify with him because he knows their language and their problems, "I represent someone of their own kind who has made it good."

This does not, of course, imply that young, male Negroes living in the ghetto will be the most effective leaders. Indeed, we observed many instances where identification, based on these characteristics, was negligible, yet the programs were working well and the leader had established his own image. Obviously these characteristics are secondary to the more basic qualities described elsewhere in the report (empathy, drive, etc.).

4.1.6 Human Relations Skills. The very nature of the problems facing Title I requires that its leaders have the human relations skills necessary to establish rapport, generate sound interpersonal relationships and strengthen the project's image. This is particularly essential in resolving the complexities connected with innovative programs. In effect, a leader must be able to sell himself, and his project as well, to the various people he will interact with - children, project staff, parents, community leaders, school administrators and central staff officials. The incidents described in the following paragraphs exemplify individuals who have been successful in this regard.

Mrs. X, a school leader of a project for disadvantaged children with high achievement potential, had been concerned about how the other children in the ghetto school would react to her special class. She soon discovered a great deal of resentment on the part of the other children. They referred, to her students as "smarty," and to her as the teacher of "that room" or "those children." Mrs. X realized that before the children in her class could be accepted by the others, she herself would have to be accepted. To accomplish this objective, she became active in the cafeteria and the physical education department. This provided her the exposure needed to meet and "sell herself" to the children. Eventually she was successful; in fact, there was a complete turnabout, with the children in the program emerging as school leaders.

A teacher, in describing his success in meeting with parents declared: "Well, I get to see them - they will listen to me. I never wear a suit, of course, when I see them. If I did, they might respect me more, but what is that if they don't feel free to talk to me about their problems." In the same district, a principal explained why he never discusses with parents the income requirements for participating in Title I: "I don't want to break down the self-confidence we are trying to build up in these people."

In a number of districts, we observed successful projects that were highlighted by informal personal relationships between the project leader and the staff. In one of these, the leader was constantly "patting his people on the back," letting them know how he appreciated their efforts. In another, there were frequent informal meetings, many of which were held after school in the leader's home.

The thread of salesmanship is clearly evident in all of these examples. But what are the human relations skills inherent in this behavior? We have identified three such factors — communications skills, public relations ability and diplomacy.

Title I is heavily dependent upon communications (See Section III. 4.2.1). Effective leader performance, therefore, is related in a positive way to the level of the leader's communications skills. The importance of this factor takes on added significance when we consider the wide range of communication channels associated with the Title I system. First and foremost, the leader must be able to "get himself across" to both the children and the parents - a difficult task in view of the constraints resulting from differences in language, culture, and socio-economic class. One project leader in a Spanish-speaking community was able to bridge the gap caused by these differences by "brushing up on his Spanish" and "choosing his words carefully."

A leader must also be able to communicate effectively with his staff, the principals and his superiors in the central office - all requiring different communication styles and skills. We observed one project where, from the leader down, communications were excellent. However, a breakdown in the channels between the leader and the central office resulted in a misconception as to the effectiveness of the project. It appeared that the leader did not have the writing skills necessary to report evaluation data clearly.

Communications skills are also involved in promoting the project to the community, and to the public at large. Since support of a project has such a powerful influence upon its success, project leaders who have public relations ability tend to enhance that success. One project leader was extremely sensitive to publicity and hence was very careful about the pupils he accepted into the first groups of his vocational skills classes. He chose them specifically for their propensity to successfully complete the course, thus hoping to create the best possible project image to the school system, the community and industry - the last because of his need to get jobs for graduating students. Another leader plays his role in public relations with utmost skill - newspaper accounts, speeches, door-to-door discussions, photographs, reports, etc, - all of these are utilized to promote the project and the people involved.

Public relations skill involves more than a utilization of appropriate media. It also necessitates an ability to analyze and evaluate the degree to which promotion of the project is required. In some cases, publicity can be detrimental, especially when the programs are in conflict with the attitudes and mores of the community. A publicity campaign for an educational program for unwed mothers had a negative impact because a powerful segment of the community viewed the objective of the project as conflicting with their personal morality. Project leaders in the south must constantly be aware of the discrepancy between the integration efforts of the schools and the attitudes of the public-at-large. Consequently, publicity for Title I is mostly restricted to the specific communities affected by the program.

Diplomacy in one's personal interactions is another human relations attribute vital to effective leadership. This is especially important in Title I because of the sensitive relationships that must be developed with the population, and also because of the many potential personnel problems arising out of the insecurity associated with Government funded projects, the educational and personal adjustments required, the changes in responsibility and authority, and the wide differences in the background, temperament, and attitudes of the staff.

We were able to observe leader-staff interactions in all of the districts visited, and it soon became apparent that the effective leader was extremely tactful and sensitive in his dealings with people. The following two incidents illustrate this point: during a conference with his staff at which the interviewee was present, the leader of an outstanding Guidance project was faced with the problem of criticizing the authoritarian and threatening manner of one of his teachers. Rather than criticizing her methods directly and openly, the leader permitted the teacher to read the report mentioning her negative attitude on her own, and then phrased his comments in an informal, face-saving manner. In another situation, the interviewer was introduced to the staff by the principal of a school, which was particularly effective in its implementation of Title I activities. The principal would not permit the interviewer to talk to the teachers alone and, in fact, dominated most of the conversation. In many of the discussions, he would attack the teachers' remarks, thus inhibiting further responses. In one interview she held on to the arm of the teacher, as though to remind her who was boss.

One of the interviewers attempted, in one school district, to determine the single characteristic or trait that is most descriptive of the "best" project leader in that district. He asked teachers, principals, central office administrators, and community leaders for their opinion, and discovered that "diplomacy" was the trait most often mentioned.

4.1.7 School and Community Experience. Success in Title I appears to be directly related to the special project skills, teaching background and community experience of the project leaders. These, of course, are secondary to the factors described in other cluster descriptions, empathy, flexibility, drive, etc., but, nevertheless, were observed to be predictive of effective leadership.

Every project, regardless of its objective - remedial, curriculum development, in-service training, etc. - is enhanced when the leader has specific skills relevant to that objective. These skills provide a common link between the leader and his staff, and therefore facilitate communication and understanding.

An example of the importance of this factor occurred in a small school district where the director of an instructional center had no previous experience or skill with audio-visual materials or curriculum development. A major portion of his time during the initial few months was spent in training himself in these areas. As a result, the project was off to a slow start and the leader's lack of skill affected the performance of his staff. One project member commented: "We were really floundering around in the beginning. No one knew what he was supposed to do and every day there would be a change

of procedure. The whole staff was trying to run the project in their own way because there was no leader to do the job."

The skill of teaching is another characteristic of school experience that relates positively to success. In general, the more experience a project leader has had as a teacher, or in working with teachers, the more he is able to empathize with his teachers and principals, and the stronger his grasp of the realities of their situation. Those leaders who come with little or no teaching experience are often viewed with suspicion, or a lack of respect and confidence, and must invariably go through a test period to prove their worth. Because of the natural hesitancy to accept outsiders, school districts tend to choose leaders with teaching experience. In those few cases where successful leaders were not from the education family, it was noted that they were from closely allied disciplines such as sociology and psychology and that they were particularly effective in their application of human relations skills. In no instance was the leader drawn directly from a non-related area, although a few had some earlier industrial experience.

Despite the apparent positive influence of specialized skills and teaching skills, it should be pointed out that, in a few instances, Title I personnel viewed these as detrimental to the progress of the project. In a project for unwed mothers, none of the teachers had taught before. The project leader considered this advantageous because "It made them more adaptable and receptive to innovative methods than experienced teachers might be." In another district, a principal who resented the "raiding" of his staff for Title I projects declared: "New teachers should be used in Title I projects, so experienced teachers would not be removed from regular programs. New teachers would have more flexible reactions to the innovations of Title I programs, because their minds are not set in their ways."

Although these comments do not relate specifically to project leaders, there appears to be a modicum of relevancy and truth in what they say, despite the obvious rationalizations and personal motives that prompted these remarks. However, the advantages of having school experience would seem to outweigh the higher flexibility potential of non-experienced personnel, particularly when school experience is bolstered by the "right" attitude.

Years of experience in the school system and familiarity with the community are two closely related factors that tend to improve success probability, especially in cohesive environments. The stress on social relationships and the heavy reliance upon informal lines of communication in these communities make it extremely difficult for the outsider to gain immediate acceptance. If the outsider is the project leader, the project will suffer. In a school district staffed almost exclusively by local residents, the one outsider brought in as a reading consultant found it very difficult to work within the educational

structure. She claims to have been in a continual struggle to gain the respect and assistance of the establishment and often felt as if she were "beating her head against a brick wall." No matter what her skills and credentials were, she did not belong and, consequently, the project was not successful — the only apparent failure in the district.

Whenever outsiders are appointed to leadership positions in closely knit communities and manage to succeed, it is probably due to the human relations skills and extra efforts of the individual. A leader of a guidance program had been in the community for a year and a half and had managed to gain partial acceptance by supporting his professional role through heavy involvement in community affairs. Even with this extra-activity, he feels that "it will take a good two or three years for me to be totally accepted into the system."

Although outsiders appear to have a negative effect on project success, it is interesting to observe that it is usually the outsider who stirs things up, disturbs the status quo and generally serves as a catalyst to get the "innovative ball rolling." While he may not be effective in his project, he may be very instrumental in getting Title I "off home base."

In large diverse communities, there is less importance placed on the community experience of the project leader. In these communities, a stranger can be more easily absorbed into the system because of its size, formal organization and communication structure. Leaders can do their job without having to achieve total acceptance, or expend a great deal of energy in maintaining social relationships and position.

A major advantage, however, of project leaders having community experience, is that it provides an understanding and appreciation of the social and educational problems of the particular community. Of course this can be developed but probably only at the price of initial confusions, misunderstandings, and wrong assumptions typical of people who are not "tuned in."

4.2 School Climate Characteristics

4.2.1 Communications System. On the basis of the survey results, it appears that a school district's Title I communications system is the single most significant environmental variable related to the outcome of projects. Over and over again, we found ourselves discussing and observing situations where communications had a major impact — almost every interviewee had a tale to relate showing how the presence or absence of "good communications" affected the development of his project. In this section, we will summarize these interviews by identifying the communications characteristics that facilitate performance of the Title I leadership role.

In virtually every outstanding project observed in this study, the relationships between all levels of individuals connected with the project were marked by frequent, intense and informal contact. Everyone seemed to be fully aware of project events, personnel, problems, goals, plans, etc. Project leaders were at the center of this activity, reporting upwards to central office personnel, downwards to project staff and laterally to school administrators. Formal meetings were frequent, but even more important was the almost constant informal contact between leaders and members of the staff. One leader of a small project made it a point to visit his staff three or four times a week, another encouraged his people to use the telephone, a third declared an open-door policy whereby any staff member with any problem could meet with him, at almost any time.

The advantages of frequent informal communications are readily apparent: better understanding of project objectives, earlier identification and resolution of project problems, improved working relationships, development of teamwork attitude and internal support for the project. A teacher of a class for emotionally disturbed children reported that her project was "flunking" because the project leader was not in contact with her: "I was given a job and told to do it, and it was three months before the project leader contacted me." In contrast to this are the comments of the teacher of an outstanding project who attributed its success to the project leader who had "excellent communications with the staff. He listens to everything and he doesn't just yes you, but does something when he can. We all look forward to our meetings with him because he has made us care about our work."

Responsibility for the frequency and nature of communications rests primarily with the project leader, but the rules, policy and precedents of the system at large can either facilitate or hamper his efforts. When the system, for example, requires prior time-consuming approvals to hold meetings, emphasizes formal rather than informal contact, discourages close working relationships between central office and school personnel, or makes it difficult to interact with school influentials, project leaders will tend to be less enthusiastic for, and hence less active in their communication efforts. On the other hand, an environment conducive to frequent and informal communications will provide the impetus necessary to encourage similar leader behavior. This was illustrated in one district where, from the Superintendent level down, a great emphasis was placed upon frequent informal communications. This objective was clearly conveyed to the project leaders, as implied by the comment made by one of them: "The Director of Federal Projects set up an excellent reporting system and holds weekly meetings for all heads of projects. He thinks nothing of picking up the phone or dropping by to find out how things are going and if he can be of any help."

Since a heavy emphasis on informal communications is a positive success ingredient, it should be pointed out that leaders in cohesive environments, where there is a natural inclination towards informality, have a distinct advantage over their counterparts in diverse areas. This was clearly seen in one cohesive district, where, because of its small size, project heads were quartered in the same building as the Superintendent. Their proximity enabled them to carry on a daily exchange of information and discussion of problems, a highly unlikely possibility for leaders in large diverse districts.

Aside from the general features of frequent and informal communications, several specific communication activities were observed as having a positive influence. One of these concerns the level of Title I orientation provided to the schools. A complaint heard repeatedly among the leaders, principals and teachers of Title I projects was that no systematic effort was made to orient them to the objectives, policy and procedures of Title I. Consequently, rumors, misconceptions and inaccuracies resulted — all of which could only be detrimental to the progress of the programs. Where formal orientation was provided, a much more healthy beginning was evident. For example, during the planning stages of a comparatively large and very successful program, a well-coordinated effort was made to thoroughly inform all potential participants as to the nature of ESEA - Title I. By determining the receptivity of the principals and staff to the concepts of Title I, an improved selection of schools in which to place the project was accomplished.

An additional advantage of providing district-wide orientation is an increase in public support. When non-Title I people are not informed as to what and why things are happening in their school system, the very natural reaction is one of suspicion and resentment. This is particularly so when all that becomes known is that "those schools and those children" are getting increased and improved materials and services. Unless an attempt is made to familiarize these people with the problems and intentions of Title I, opposition will inevitably result. As will be pointed out in the next section (Chapter III, section 4.2.2), support for these projects is vital for success — all efforts, including orientation efforts, must therefore be made to achieve support and/or eliminate opposition.

Providing orientation to non-Title I schools is but the first step in developing an understanding of and support for project activities. Subsequent communications concerning the development, progress and plans of the projects are needed to increase interest in the work being accomplished. When school systems encourage such communications through district reports, meetings, newsletters, etc., project leaders will tend to increase their own informal contacts with non-Title I personnel. One school system, in fact, required that its project leaders supplement the district's communication efforts to non-Title I schools. The rationale for keeping non-involved schools up to date

on Title I project accomplishments was simply to better prepare these schools for the time when they might become involved. Thus, students graduating or transferring from elementary schools where Title I projects were in effect entered secondary schools or other elementary schools which had some familiarity with the nature of the services and materials previously provided.

In another district, a project leader was quite active in promoting interaction with non-Title I people. On his own, he contacted the principal of a non-Title I school, inviting her teachers to informally participate in the Instructional Materials Center. When word of this reached the central office, there was an immediate negative reaction resulting in a rectification of the leader's "mistake". The principal of the non-Title I school clearly expressed the impact of the incident: "We weren't supposed to use the facilities. You can imagine how angry my staff was. Since that time there has been no more communications about Title I." Obviously, the admonishment of the project leader had an inhibiting effect on his further efforts to interact with non-Title I personnel.

Very few of the districts visited provided directly for formal lines of communication between the leaders and staff of the various Title I projects in effect. Consequently, unless informal contact was established through the individual efforts of the personnel involved, there was very little exchange of ideas, practices, problems, successes and failures. The lack of such interaction occasionally resulted in a direct interference with the operations of a project. One such case was a project for emotionally disturbed children which, as part of its program, provided for field trips. On one of the trips, the teacher found the area overpacked with children of other Title I projects and hence, no one could make efficient use of the facilities. The poor scheduling and planning could certainly have been avoided if the project leaders had been in touch with one another.

It was not unusual to hear leaders and teachers complain about their lack of knowledge of what was happening in other projects. Duplication, wasted efforts, inadequate utilization of materials and facilities were some of the complaints expressed. Several leaders wanted the district to provide information about similar projects in other districts. One supervisor handed some of his calling cards to the interviewer and requested that he give them to leaders of similar projects in other areas. The head of a Teacher Aide Program spent a half-hour interrogating the interviewer concerning other Teacher Aide programs he had seen. From these examples, it becomes clear that there is a definite need for exchange of experiences between Title I personnel (both within and outside of the district). Thus far the school system has not responded to that need.

One final communication channel vital to Title I success is the link between the school and the community. School systems that encourage dissemination of Title I information to the parents and to the general public, through orientation meetings, utilization of mass media, personal contact, organized discussions, employment of indigenous workers, etc., contribute a great deal to the development of community and parental support for its projects. Although all districts make some formal attempt to communicate, the variance is considerable — from simple descriptive reports as to what is happening to dynamic, two-way communication. Generally speaking, the more frequent and intense the communications, the easier the task for the leader.

4.2.2 Project Support. The field survey indicated that success in Title I is a direct function of the strength (i.e., influence) of the individuals supporting the project, minus the strength of those opposing it. If the result of this conceptual equation is negative, or just slightly positive, the project will have "rough going," but if a strong positive result is obtained, success probability is clearly enhanced.

In general, the impact of project support is more clearly seen with innovative programs. In these, there are often more fundamental issues involved, such as educational philosophy, resistance to change, etc., which seem to split the school system into opposing camps. The fate of the project may very well be determined early in the "war" when the influentials choose sides. Project support has relatively little predictive value with additive programs, because these projects fit so smoothly into the existing system that almost everyone supports them.

The project leader must be aware of the importance of project support, and utilize all his resources and skills to encourage and strengthen it on an ongoing basis. Support can be found at a variety of levels, and sometimes steady affirmation of the project from one influential source can be enough to carry the project along.

Beginning with the upper level of the school hierarchy, the active interest of the Superintendent and board members has proven to be an important factor in the acceptance of Title I into the system. An active interest refers to overt actions and statements from the Superintendent and/or board members which clearly indicate their support of the program. This factor, obviously, has its major impact in districts where a strong Superintendent /Board presides. In one southern school district where tremendous advances have been made as a result of Title I, there has been a unanimous voice supporting the Superintendent as the prime mover. He meets with the community leaders, campaigns in both the Negro and white areas, and generally lets himself be seen and heard as a strong supporter of Title I.

A board member from another district, where the board of education was considered to have a positive attitude towards Title I, was noted as being particularly interested in the advancement of Title I in the school and community. Not only did he verbalize this concern, but he spent a considerable amount of personal time speaking to various community groups. Upon retirement of this district's Superintendent, the board made a particular effort when screening candidates to find someone who could work well with Federal programs. Despite the board's diverse political composition (four Republicans, two Democrats and one Independent) all labored cooperatively to make Title I work.

Certainly, not all school boards support Title I — many appear to look with pleasure upon the monies, but not upon the objectives. An example of a school board action which has hindered the progress of its Title I projects occurred in a small community in which $10,000 of Title I money was available. The Title I central office staff decided to use the funds for needed training of teachers in Negro culture and history. The board refused to allow the money for this purpose and stated that if the teachers wanted to gain this information, they should pay for it themselves.

When the school board's attitude is a negative one, the interest and strength of the Superintendent becomes especially critical for Title I success. One school district we visited was characterized by an extremely active and influential Superintendent who was noted as "running a tight ship" via heavy personal involvement with the projects, skillful manipulation of people and expert utilization of communications. As one associate acknowledged, "He's a determined champion of the schools, especially in opposing the school board." The Superintendent bitterly denounced the board to our interviewer as totally disinterested in education and Title I, and solely concerned with furthering the political careers of its own members. He showed us articles and editorials from newspapers dealing with his battles with the school board. Unquestionably, without his influence and unrelenting efforts, the Title I projects would never have reached their present success.

Project support can also be obtained from the central office individual in whose sphere of influence the project falls. Support at this level would appear to be of tremendous advantage, in view of the usual influence and prestige of these individuals and yet, in most districts visited, these people showed little interest in or inclination for Title I. In the few instances where we observed that a senior central office individual had taken an active interest, the projects were always successful.

One Director of Elementary Education was particularly effective in the successful outcome of Title I. She attributed her success to the fact that she had the "ear" of the Superintendent, as well as the respect of other influentials

within the upper echelons of the hierarchy. Certain Title I projects fell under her jurisdiction and she took an active interest in their planning and implementation. One of her project leaders said: "She supports us in everything we do. When a supervisor has a problem, they call her immediately and she makes her contacts. She chops away the red tape and gets things accomplished with great speed." It is interesting to observe that, while many of the projects in this district were waiting months for supplies and materials, no such problem existed for these projects. As would be expected, they were the most successful in the district.

A project leader's level of influence and prestige is another factor that adds to the support of a project. In other words, Title I success is directly affected by the amount of personal support for its leaders. In cohesive environments, project leader support is closely related to the "years in the community" factor — when the leader is a well-known and familiar figure, heavy support can be anticipated. In diverse districts, however, support is more closely connected to the demonstrated expertise of the leader.

A highly well-known and respected project leader in a large, somewhat conservative, district had the support of the "new blood" in the system. They had begged her to work in their district, but she stalled them until determining whether she could function successfully in their school environment. She came on first as a consultant, and, after a trial run, took the position full-time: "They left me alone to do my work and rarely bothered me — they trusted my ability and gave their support by clearing the path and removing the bureaucratic annoyances. I guess you could say they are handling me with kid gloves so as not to frighten me away."

In another instance, a project leader new to the district, was "stepping on toes" and had otherwise managed to create considerable opposition to his project. Despite the fact that the project leader had the support of the Superintendent, the opponents were strong enough to effect the demise of the project.

Perhaps the most influential source of project support is at the level of school administration, the principal. Since most Title I projects are implemented within the schools, the principal's attitude is a key factor as to whether or not the project will succeed. Every interviewer discovered situations where lack of support by the principal contributed greatly to a project's failure within the school.

A project was on the decline in one school because of a change in principals. The first principal worked closely with the project leader and enthusiastically supported all her efforts. Together they built a learning laboratory that received a good deal of favorable publicity throughout the community. The principal went so far as to promote the project to his counterparts in other

schools. Within a year he was promoted to a central office position and was replaced by a basically conservative individual. As a result, the Title I learning lab in this school did a complete about-face. The new principal did not support or even communicate with the project leader. He looked upon Title I staff with suspicion and offered no encouragement or motivation. The principal's behavior and attitude soon spread to the school staff and the project, as a result, floundered.

Obviously, there are many factors that relate to the development of a principal's attitude toward Title I. Perhaps the most important of these is the degree to which he has been involved in the planning of Title I activities for his school. One group social worker found herself in the "embarrassing situation of telling the principal about plans he should have previously been informed of." Was it any wonder that he was disinterested in Title I and would not lend it his support? If projects are to truly succeed, they must have the full cooperation and support of the principals. Principals must be brought into the decision-making process early, and given a greater voice and identity in the planning for Title I. From our standpoint, it seems quite clear that principals have generally been neglected in this regard. As a result, negative attitudes have formed, apathetic and even contrary behaviors have occured, and a potential major source of project support has been overlooked.

Another level of project support comes from the community. On the basis of our small sample, it appears that most of the people in disadvantaged communities have little or no knowledge of Title I, what it is or what it is doing for their children. Here then is another virtually untapped source of support. In the instances where community interest was channeled into a support source, the positive effect was quite evident. In one area, the community turned from fighting the school to creatively and actively supporting it. The new principal of a Title I community school harnessed the energies of the discontented, and showed them how they could help rebuild the community by starting first with their school. The active support of the community helped to establish the school as one of the better schools in the district.

Several of the school systems recognized the communities' lack of knowledge about Title I and have tried to solicit the communities' support by including them in decisions and by keeping them better informed. One principal told us: "Before a student is accepted into this school, we meet with the parents and try to gain some support or at least realization that the district is concentrating time and money to help their child, and to incorporate into the planning whatever insights the parents might provide." In another district, at the very start of the program, the parents were invited to an orientation meeting to explain the Title I program and its advantages and

also "to seek out potential in the community for special skills and assistance that could be integrated into the project curriculum."

Probably the best method of gaining community support is the involvement of the community in the actual projects. Title I encourages the use of indigenous workers and welcomes active community involvement wherever possible. In a preschool Title I project, community mothers are given extensive on-the-job training in working with these children. They can help their own family, the class and the staff simultaneously. In a manner of speaking, a give-and-take relationship between the parent and the school has been developed. The parent learns from involvement in school activities, and the school learns from the parent's experiences and first hand knowledge of the children's background and every day life. One mother, a teacher's aide, glowingly told the interviewer: "I enjoy every minute. I appreciate the opportunity I have to work in the program and the opportunity being given to the children. The staff has been wonderful to me. I know I have a lot to learn and I just recently made a big decision — I am going to take some courses so I can get my high school equivalency diploma and then who knows, I might even go on to college."

4.2.3 Staff Selection and Training Policy. The anecdotes described throughout this report have clearly supported the well-known belief that programs are only as good as the staff who implement them. This is especially true in the Title I situation where very specific qualities and characteristics are needed to meet the challenge presented by the problems of the target group, the rigidity of the educational system, the lack of precedent and direction, and the temporary nature of Title I. Since satisfying this need would result in an improved success potential of its projects, it appears crucial that each district bring their staff selection and training subsystems in line with the requirements of Title I. In this regard, we have identified a number of district characteristics that help to effect such a change.

The first of these factors concerns the relationship between the hiring policy for Title I personnel, and regular school personnel practices. We have found that in districts where the regular on-going policy is applied without special consideration for the requirements of Title I, the projects tend to suffer. Therefore, we can hypothesize that the greater the flexibility of the school system in its hiring policy and procedures, the more likely the system will provide the type of individuals needed to implement Title I projects.

Districts where this flexibility exists are characterized by such actions as: hiring of personnel without all of the "paper" qualifications, searches for people in non-school areas (e. g., an Assistant Director of Federal Projects was previously a technical writer for an aero-space firm), bending of salary limitations, offerings of special status, etc. One district permitted unusual

practices to the extent that talented people were hired despite their lack of the standard qualifications. This experiment worked out so satisfactorily that the Director of Federal Projects for the district would now like to establish a separate organization and policy for the hiring of Title I staff.

Interviews in another district provided an excellent contrast of attitudes towards the hiring of personnel. A Deputy Superintendent of the old guard, with some influence in the selection of staff felt stongly that candidates for positions in Title I should have Master's degrees and teaching experience, rather than previous experience with the disadvantaged. On the other hand, the Director of Federal Projects, who actually did the hiring and had some freedom in this regard, looked for qualities of loyalty, flexibility and empathy, as well as first-hand experience in teaching or working with the disadvantaged. An example of this Director's hiring decisions was a young man who had not completed his undergraduate work, but who nevertheless was provisionally admitted as a teacher in a project for handicapped children because of his interest in, and previous work with, these children. The decision proved to be a wise one, as the teacher was found to be extremely effective.

These examples lead us to the question: what criteria should be employed in selecting staff and leaders? In the first seven sections of this segment (Section 4.0) of the report, we have expressed our opinions as to the personal, behavioral, and attitudinal characteristics that are needed in Title I. From this it follows that the more these criteria are utilized in the selection of staff, the higher the success probability.

The most notable weakness of school districts' hiring policies evolves out of the all too frequent occurrence of choosing staff and especially leaders solely because the nature of the program fits in with the individual's normal school function. Hence, reading supervisors get reading projects, art consultants get art projects, librarians get library projects and so on. These assignments are made under the sole criterion of function with no regard given to the special requirements of Title I. People who simple fall into the job rarely have the qualities, or the time, necessary to cope with Title I problems.

A success ingredient in staffing projects is the inclusion of the project leader in the selection process — not only because he is aware of the qualities and characteristics needed but also because he is the one who must work with these people. All too often, we observed situations where poor leader/staff relations could have been avoided if the project head had been given a voice in choosing his staff. Personality conflicts, attitude differences, motivational inconsistencies, behavioral quirks are all sources of project interference that might be eliminated via pre-project interaction of leader and prospective staff members. Title I has too many inherent problems of its own to take on the

added difficulties of incapable staff or poor working relationships between staff members and leaders.

Examples of successful projects where leaders participated in staff selection were numerous. In most of these, the leaders spent many days, months in some cases, searching for the right people. One leader purposely held back the starting date of his project because he had not found the kind of individual he was looking for. Another tried to get at the attitudes of his applicants by asking, "How do you feel about dirty, smelly kids with running noses?" Still another pointed out to an applicant for a librarian position that working with the disadvantaged would be unconventional and would require letting the kids browse, make noise, and even damage the books. This applicant, although otherwise qualified, did not believe she could adjust to the changes in attitudes required and hence did not accept the position. The leader avoided a mistake by being close to the situation and knowing what would be involved. What are the chances that the district's personnel people would have avoided the mistake?

Time and again, our interviewers were made aware of the tremendous need of the Title I task force to learn about the disadvantaged. There can be no question that the present lack of knowledge and understanding of these people is a major shortcoming of any program, Title I or otherwise, that is intended to help this population. Any attempts, therefore, designed to provide a continual education for those involved in Title I affairs regarding the needs, behavior, motivations and general background of the disadvantaged, must be seen as making a major contribution to the success of the projects involved.

When personnel had Title I training we noted a greater interest on their part in discussing the plight of the child rather than the project per se. Enthusiasm and involvement were manifested in other ways as well: volunteering to attend seminars, lectures and workshops, self-study, research activities, and participation in community affairs. The most striking example of the impact of training was a reported incident where an extremely influential, but relatively uninvolved central office administrator greatly increased her efforts and concern for Title I after being exposed to several seminars dealing with the problem.

4.2.4 Title I Organization Structure. Although the usual tendency is to fit new programs into the existing school structure, we have observed instances where organizational adjustments have taken place as a result of the introduction of Title I into the district. Since this was especially true of districts where highly innovative projects have been developed, it suggests a relationship between a project's "innovativeness" and the need for organization change to accommodate the innovation. Under the assumption of such a relationship, we can further hypothesize that when changes appropriate to the level of innovation occur, leader performance is facilitated

and success probability is improved. The following two examples illustrate how organizational change was employed to resolve certain difficulties associated with the existing structure.

In one school district, the Assistant Superintendent for Curriculum represented an obstacle to Title I program development. He was generally opposed to Title I, and specifically against integrated programs. To adjust for this potential roadblock, an organizational change was accomplished whereby the people responsible for the planning and development of federally funded projects now by-passed the Assistant Superintendent, and reported directly to the Superintendent, an active supporter of Title I.

A more striking example of the beneficial effects of organizational change took place in a southern city where, traditionally, all new projects were squeezed into the existing organization. Through the efforts of the Superintendent, an expensive innovative project was designed and developed for the disadvantaged Negro. Since the project was Negro-oriented, it was felt that a Negro should head up the project (this in itself was an innovation). To do so, however, would have resulted in a number of organizational difficulties associated with a Negro being in a position of influence. The issue was finally resolved by developing a structure for the project that was completely clear of the existing organization. The principals of the schools involved in the project reported directly to the project leader, and the leader reported directly to the Superintendent. The considerable success that this project has achieved results, in large measure, from the Superintendent, who was willing to face up to the realities of the situation and recognize that to effect change one must first make changes.

Aside from this general hypothesis regarding the need for organizational change, several specific factors associated with the school system's organization for Title I were seen as being conducive to successful leadership behavior. One of these involves the number of decision-making levels above the project leader position. Because of the time constraints usually connected with Title I projects, and also the extreme urgency to produce, the fewer levels of approval there are, the easier it will be for the leader to accomplish his objectives. This is not to say that there should be no checks and balances on the leader's behavior, but rather supports the view that the project leader should be given the authority necessary to make decisions without requiring the sanctions of several individuals in the upper hierarchy.

Comments typical of leaders placed in the untenable position of responsibility without appropriate authority include, "My hands are tied," "They won't let me move," "Too much red tape," "Everyone has to give his stamp of approval," etc. One of the leaders interviewed described his situation: "I am considered a project leader, but in reality I am in a staff position with very little direct

authority as far as implementation is concerned." The Assistant Director of Federal Projects of a large city was asked why many of the projects in the city had been waiting for three to six months for needed supplies. He candidly replied that, "The red tape is something awful — no decisions get made unless everyone with some responsibility or interest in the project has his say — even the simple processing of a purchase requisition requires approvals, and this sometimes takes weeks."

Aside from its direct influence upon the development of a project, an organization structure characterized by several levels of approval and concomitant limitations on a project leader's authority, tends to undermine the self-confidence of the leader and hence, discourages innovative behavior and attitudes. The Assistant Director mentioned above reported that it was difficult for them to get their leaders to be flexible and think innovatively when the system itself was laden with rigid rules and procedures. This apparent incongruity between the emerging acceptance of innovation as an educational concept, and the realities of rigid structures, policy and behaviors point out, once again, the need for change not only in educational practices but in educational systems as well.

Another characteristic of the organizational structure that appears relevant to success is the operational existence of an individual who is responsible for coordinating the district's Title I projects. Since the value of a "Title I Coordinator" increases with the size, scope and complexity of Title I affairs, diverse school districts are particularly in need of an individual who has his finger on the pulse of all Title I activity.

Confusion and duplication of efforts at all levels but especially at the project leader level, is the typical outcome of non-coordinated programs. An example of this was exhibited in one of the larger cities studied where the Title I Coordinator was a coordinator in name only and, in reality, was concerned mainly with receiving and distributing funds. The effect of not having a true coordinator was indicated by an Associate Superintendent who stated: "The right hand does not know what the left one is doing. There are so many projects and they all seem to be competing with each other rather than working together. If there was one central office person to tie the strings together, a hell of a lot more would be accomplished."

One of the major weaknesses of Title I operations arises from the fact that many coordinators and project leaders are assigned multi-school responsibilities outside of Title I. While this may be workable for districts with a small number of programs, it certainly is not realistic for the bulk of cities and counties participating in Title I. The need for full-time leadership at the program coordinator level is clear when considering that for this position the scope of activities usually includes: planning, budgeting, program development, evalu-

ation, data dissemination, promotion, and personnel selection. Similarly, effective performance of the project leader role necessitates elimination of interference resulting from other non-Title I responsibilities. We have previously suggested that success is enhanced when a leader demonstrates a total commitment to the project. Obviously such a commitment is not possible when organizational constraints exist.

An example of the detrimental effect of multi-responsibility was uncovered in our talk with an assistant principal, the leader of an evening community school rated as less successful than the five other community schools in the district. Sensing our attempt to discover the reasons for the relative failure of his school, he admitted, "We haven't accomplished as much as we would like to because I don't have the time to work at it." Further discussion revealed that he was also the assistant principal of the regular day school. It was obvious to us that by permitting him to function in his dual role, the organizational structure placed a handicap upon the Title I project and probably upon the day school as well.

Earlier in the report (Section III, para. 4.2.2) it was pointed out that support of Title I by the principals involved in project implementation is a particularly crucial element for success. We have also found, however, that in many cases the Title I organization structure itself tends to inhibit the support of the principals. This usually evolves out of the organizational characteristic we call dual allegiance.

Dual allegiance refers to the situation where project staff have reporting relationships to the project leader as well as to the principal of the school. Unless there is a clear understanding of the specific responsibilities and authority of each leader and a fairly good working relationship — conflict will occur with a loss of the principal's support as the eventual outcome. As long as projects continue to be implemented within the existing schools, the dual allegiance situation is inevitable. The problem can be minimized, however, by including the principals in the planning of the project and establishing clear lines of authority.

An excellent example of the effects of dual allegiance occurred in a school where a number of projects were being implemented. One did not get the support of the principal: "The whole thing was planned poorly. The project leader came from outside the district and he didn't know what was going on . . . There's a confusion of authority here — a gap between myself and Mr. X (the project leader) . . . I'm completely shut out of the project and when I ask about something, the teacher and Mr. X get very mysterious." The teacher, meanwhile, doesn't know where to turn: "I don't know if I'm under the principal or the project leader. There is no one really in control . . . My duties were never clarified . . . The staff resents my project and I know the principal thinks I'm doing a terrible job."

In another project marked by a poor relationship between the leader and the principal, a teacher remarked: "The principal would tell me one thing, and my project leader another. One day my project leader helped me move my class into a room, and the next day the principal told me I didn't belong there and would have to find other space."

4.2.5 School System History. Successful leadership performance appears to be linked to the general background and experience of the school district in which the leader functions. In this connection, we have identified several historical factors — activities that took place and attitudes that were developed prior to project implementation — that seem to contribute positively to a Title I leader's success.

Earlier in the report (Section III, para. 4.1.1) we indicated that a project leader's experience with the disadvantaged added considerably to his ability to empathize, and hence, was a distinct advantage to the project. Similarly, the previous experience of a school district, or even an individual school, in working with and for the Title I target population is a plus factor. In predictive format this means that the greater the amount of district or school working experience with the disadvantaged, the greater the familiarity with the problems and needs of these people, and hence, the greater the district and school empathy. This results in realistic project objectives, increased support for Title I, its projects and its staff, and an elimination of many of the mistakes typically associated with getting started.

Although each district visited has had some prior experience dealing with the educational problems of the poor, the extent of this experience differed widely. For southern districts, concern with the Negro disadvantaged is a relatively new development, while in several of the other areas, the educational community has long been involved in Title I-like activities. A comparison of the two will probably indicate a greater success ratio for the experienced districts, as well as major differences in the nature of the programs developed. The less experienced areas concentrate on additive type programs because they are "safer" while the more experienced districts experiment with innovation.

The impact of school experience was clearly seen in one of the smaller districts visited which had been operating special programs for poverty children several years prior to Title I. Their funds were small, however, and the programs could not provide for as many children as they might have. The elementary school with the largest poverty population was selected as the sole recipient of these programs and all resources were concentrated there. Later, when Title I monies became available, programs were expanded to five elementary schools. As expected, the school with the previous experience was, by far, the most efficient in the operation of the projects. The Title I Coordinator explained these results by pointing out that the experienced school knew how to deal

with the problems and that the objectives of Title I were nothing new to the principal and staff. The principal of the outstanding school stated it this way: "We have been doing what Title I wants us to do for many years now. It fits right in, although of course, now we can do so much more."

As implied in the above example, a leader whose project is operational, completely or in part, prior to its incorporation into the Title I network, has a definite advantage over those leaders who must start from scratch and who have to go through the project's "debugging" period — resolving problems, refining procedures, etc. The fact that in a number of districts the highlight project was the one that was functioning prior to Title I appears to lend support to the relevance of this variable as a success element.

Another characteristic of the district's history that seems meaningfully related to success, concerns the nature and extent of the Title I planning process. Throughout this report we have stressed the importance of involving the project leaders, the community, the teachers and especially the principals in project planning activities. As a corollary, we find it important that these same school and community people be involved in overall Title I planning. The effects of such action can only be beneficial. Improved understanding of district and Title I objectives and goals, motivation for involvement, enthusiasm, support for the program and improved attitudes are some of the outcomes that can be anticipated. Comments obtained from individuals in areas where there was little community and school participation in planning included, "Unfortunately teachers had little to do with the planning of Title I," "The central office didn't consult the community," "I found out my school was getting Title I projects when I read it on the bulletin board and I was positively incensed." Compare these negative, almost hostile, remarks with the following statement by a project leader who was involved in planning: "When I heard the central office was interested in our ideas for Title I projects, I jumped at the chance. It took some doing, but I managed to get support and now I have my project."

The inclusion of community interests in planning relates to another factor important to project success — the nature of the relationship between the school system and supportive agencies, such as Community Action, PTA, teacher organizations, etc. Since Title I projects are enhanced by support from the community, it is easy to see why the relationships between the school district and community leaders are so vital. Where good relationships exist, an atmosphere conducive to a unified, cooperative effort can be achieved, while poor relationships tend to result in divided, scattered and occasionally opposing activities.

The effects of interaction with supportive agencies are indicated in the following descriptions of two such relationships. In one district, the Community Action

Agency (CAA) Director was instrumental in getting Title I started. He had a history of excellent communications with the school system long before Title I entered upon the scene. The role of the CAA in Title I is, as he explained, "to help open the eyes of the community to the advantages of Title I." His method of accomplishing this is quite direct: — he goes into the neighborhood with his staff, approaches the community leaders, hands out flyers, uses a public-address system and generally makes his presence felt. The "paving of the road" and general support by the CAA in this district was undoubtedly a major advantage to its project leaders. Not as fortunate, however, was the leader of a preschool project in another district. Because of the nature of the project, it would have been useful for her to confer and cooperate with local OEO officials cognizant of Head Start type activities. This option was not available to her, however, because of extremely bad relations between central office people and OEO officials. There was virtually no communication, hence the leader could not profit from Head Start's experience.

The final two historical factors concern district attitudes. The first one relates to the general purpose of Title I as seen by the district. Each district, of course, is aware of the philosophy and objectives of Title I; however, these objectives were often seen to be secondary to more wide-sweeping district goals. In several districts, for example, segregation is still the "name of the game" and more often than not, the objectives of Title I are incorporated within a segregated frame of reference. Hence, most of the programs that have developed up to now do little to further integration.

It was interesting to note the wide range of district attitudes concerning the purposes of Title I. No school district was exactly like another — each had its own ideas as to what Title I would do for it. The following descriptions of two districts visited will illustrate this point. From these brief examples it should be clear that the closer the district's attitudes are in line with the concepts and purpose of Title I the closer the project leader's behaviors and attitudes will be to what is needed for effective leadership.

In District No. 1 (cohesive), Title I is seen not as the means to improve the lot of the disadvantaged, but the means by which the entire school system can be upgraded. As a consequence of this attitude, several projects were developed on the basis of their impact on the total district, rather than on the target area. Acquisition of materials, equipment and skilled people who have utility throughout the district are characteristic of the projects found here. The major outcome of such an outlook showed up in our interviews with project personnel — a lack of empathy for, or interest in, the disadvantaged. Only one supervisor we talked to viewed Title I as being aimed specifically at the disadvantaged. She also recognized that her district had been guilty of "certain ingrown and shallow thinking" in this regard. All other individuals were unanimous in their opinion that Title I was to be used to upgrade the

system — there was very little concern for, or understanding of the plight of poverty children.

In District No. 2 (diverse), it was felt that Title I would help bring about gradual change in the system. There was a definite commitment to the concepts of Title I but also an awareness that going too fast would "rock the boat" and drown the initial gains made. The wanting to help attitude was tempered by a realistic outlook which recognized that there was strong opposition among the old guard within the system, as well as among the influentials of the city. Despite the go slow approach, it was apparent that the personnel involved in Title I affairs were sensitive to and consistent with the philosphy behind Title I. Unlike District No. 1, most people interviewed believed that the main purpose of Title I was to help "those poor children."

The other related attitudinal factor refers to the extent of a district's commitment to Title I. A district's attitude might be quite sympathetic to the goals of Title I but it also might be unwilling to commit the necessary resources to make the project go. Because of the temporary nature of Title I, school systems tend to feel insecure, and such insecurity gives rise to questions such as the one posed to us by a board member in a small district: "Why should we disrupt the normal programs and assign master teachers to Title I projects when we don't know how long funds will be available."

It is obvious that unless there is a willingness to fully support Title I, its projects will suffer by not having the best teachers, nor the best facilities, nor even the best leaders. It is the district's responsibility to see to it that the projects succeed, and any reluctance regardless of whether or not the reasons are justifiable, to commit its best resources must be viewed as a neglect of that responsibility.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.0 Significance and Implications of the Findings

The results reported in the preceding chapter were based on the experience and observations of the survey task force. Although many of these conjectures were unanimously and independently hypothesized, there is, nevertheless, a need for a systematic and scientific analysis of their significance. In this chapter, we will present our recommendations as to the further research required to satisfy this need.

Under the assumption that subsequent investigations will support some of the findings of this study, let us first examine the potential implications of these findings.

A. Local school districts can improve the success probability of their projects by selecting their leaders and providing a school climate consistent with the leadership qualities and climate characteristics shown to be influential in success.

B. Training school administrators and teachers of the disadvantaged can be made more effective by adjusting current training curricula to enhance the understanding and development of the leadership traits, attitudes and behaviors relevant to success.

C. A predictive measure of project success can be developed, based on the mix of leader-climate characteristics in relation to the nature of the environment and program. State agencies can utilize this measure as an aid in approving proposed projects for funding.

D. Further research into the behaviors and personalities of school people will provide insights into the types of individuals that work best with various disadvantaged groupings, e.g., groupings by race, by age, by need areas (educational, health, etc.), by location (cities, rural areas), etc.

2.0 Suggested Research Objectives

The principal accomplishment of this study has been the identification of several clusters of "people" and "climate" factors that appear to have a

positive influence upon effective leadership and ultimately upon the success of Title I projects. If these findings are to have a significant impact, the initial task of any subsequent investigation is to test the factors for their degree of influence, significance, and optimum mix. This, then, is the first objective of the proposed research.

In Chapter III of this report it was indicated that a leader's effectiveness is highly dependent upon the school environment in which he functions, and the particular project for which he is responsible. This suggests that the extent of influence of the factors will likewise vary with the environment and program. In other words, some factors will exhibit a greater impact under certain conditions than others. Also, it can be expected that several of the factors will be immune to environmental and program variables, and will therefore exhibit a uniform influence. Because of this inter-dependency of variables (people, environment, program), a practical application of any significant findings arising out of the first objective is, at best, limited. It is not enough just to learn what the factors are--we must also uncover the conditions, if any, which maximize or minimize their influence.

At this early stage of investigation, it does not seem appropriate to recommend further research on leadership factors within the context of highly specific environmental or program variations (e.g., district size, district location, program purpose, program size, etc.). Relationships to more generalized variables need to be analyzed first in order to determine whether or not investigations of specifics are necessary and worthwhile. In this regard, there was general agreement among the survey staff that the cohesive-diverse environment and the additive-innovative program dichotomies would serve as realistic and meaningful generalizations of the "real world."

Thus, the second objective of the suggested research can be stated as: to determine the influence of each factor upon the success of Title I projects under varying environment (cohesive-diverse) and program (additive-innovative) conditions.

Our plan for achieving the objectives of the study includes as its general features, a survey of a representative sample of Title I school districts and projects, the collection of quantifiable information and a statistical analysis of the data. In the remainder of this section we will outline our recommendations regarding each of these.

3.0 Sampling Strategy

To accomplish the purpose of the proposed research a rather substantial survey of Title I programs should be conducted. It is recommended that approximately 750 projects, spread among 100 school districts, be studied.

Criteria to be utilized in the selection of a representative survey sample include: district size, regional differences and amount of Title I benefits received. In addition to these basic criteria, there are special considerations highly specific to the intended research.

3.1 Cohesive-Diverse Environments. To reliably analyze the impact of environmental variables upon the Title I leadership role, the survey sample should be evenly distributed among the two types of environments. Perhaps the best objective criteria of "cohesiveness-diverseness" that can be utilized in this regard are the size and stability of the population serviced by the district. Smaller size and greater stability (i.e., permanence) are characteristic of cohesive environments, whereas diverse systems generally are larger and exhibit a higher population turnover rate.

These criterion measures can not be expected to be completely predictive--exceptions must be anticipated. Initial cohesive-diverse categorizations of survey participants that are based on these indices should, therefore, be subjected to verification and, if necessary, re-categorized for data analysis in accordance with the survey findings. As guidance in the identification of cohesive and diverse environments we are presenting, in Table 5, basic characteristics of each.

3.2 Additive-Innovative Programs. Assuring a relatively equal sampling of additive and innovative programs should not present any difficulty. In general, all school districts have projects of both variety, and almost any sample should provide a good distribution. In our survey, for example, there was no pre-selection of projects and yet of the 78 projects investigated, slightly more than half (40) were innovative.

For improved control of the variable, an alternative to a chance selection would involve the pre-survey identification of projects. This would necessitate the collection of Title I project descriptions of each potential survey participant and an analysis of each of these with regard to additive-innovative specifications. In view of our field experience, the added value of this approach is negligible.

3.3 Successful-Unsuccessful Programs. Perhaps the most critical, as well as most difficult, consideration to control for is the identification of successful projects. The degree of confidence to be placed in the research findings is contingent upon the reliability of the success evaluations.

The most reliable and valid information would, of course, come from actual performance data, achievement scores, attitude ratings, etc.

TABLE 5

CHARACTERISTICS OF COHESIVE AND DIVERSE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS

Cohesive	Diverse
1. Lines of communication are highly informal at all levels.	1. Lines of communication are predominately formal. Informal communication is of a limited range (e.g., between project members or between school staff).
2. Close social relationships among school officials	2. Relationships between school officials are, in general, professionally oriented.
3. A sense of agreement among school people as to the educational goals and needs of the community	3. Wide range of educational interests, goals, motivations and attitudes of school personnel
4. Program elements tend to be integrated towards achievement of long-range goals.	4. Program elements are often fragmentary, diversified and directed toward the resolution of immediate problems.
5. Centralized organization structure with relatively few levels of responsibility and authority	5. Highly compartmentalized school organizational structure with several levels of responsibility and authority

Without question, however, such information would not be available in the great majority of districts visited. Even in those districts where data of this type could be obtained, differences in the instruments and techniques utilized would raise serious doubts regarding the validity of equating the results in terms of success. It would seem necessary to first equate the measures--a huge and complex task.

Another more likely possibility for determining success is to rate the projects on the basis of general and widely applicable success criteria. Among such criteria would be included: the degree to which program objectives are met, the state of the staff's morale, the level of absenteeism, the number and nature of project-associated problems and the "success" opinions of all project associated personnel (including top level school officials). In effect, this method would combine the field interviewers' observations and the interviewees' responses to establish an overall assessment of project effectiveness. A five-point rating scale system would be utilized to translate these assessments into numerical success classifications. Presumably, a relatively normal distribution of successful-unsuccessful programs would be obtained. In this regard, it should be mentioned that to avoid an excessively heavy sampling of projects on the success side of the scale, all Title I projects in each district should be investigated. Otherwise, school officials will tend to recommend only their most successful projects. It is most important for an accurate interpretation of the influence of the cluster-factors that unsuccessful programs be well represented in the sample.

4.0 Collection of the Data

In order to achieve the research objectives, the data collection procedure and instrumentation must be capable of providing the following kinds of data:

A. District information - data that will facilitate the identification of school districts by a variety of criteria: environment (cohesive-diverse), size, location, Title I allocations, number of projects, etc. Most of this information can be accumulated prior to the field survey by reviewing appropriate Government publications (e.g., census) and correspondence with the respective districts.

B. Program information - data that will permit the classification of projects by: nature (additive-innovative), success, type and scope. These data will be acquired during the field survey.

C. Cluster-factor information - data related to the leadership factors hypothesized as influential in Title I program success. This information will also be obtained during the field survey.

In the remainder of this sub-section we will present our recommendations concerning: (1) the general procedure, (2) specific data requirements, (3) sources of information and (4) instrumentation necessary to satisfy the data needs described in (b) and (c) above. Information requirements of (a) are straight forward and need no further explanation.

4.1 Procedure. The specific information needs of the proposed research necessitates a far more structured technique than the informal observations which were characteristic of this study. However, a completely questionnaire-oriented approach is not satisfactory because much of the subject matter is too delicate to be handled reliably via forms.

To carry out the data-gathering segment of the research, a combined questionnaire-interview technique should be employed. Questionnaires would serve primarily as the means for collecting program and other objective type information, whereas the interviews would be oriented to the more subjective data requirements such as attitudes, behaviors, traits, etc.

The interview approach will include both formal and informal elements. In order to establish rapport, and thereby gain the confidence of the respondent, the interview will begin informally, with broad open-ended discussions of the various subject areas. The more formal segment of the interview will involve specific questioning and the use of structured response materials (e.g., rating scales, attitude scales, tests, etc.), directed to the basic information requirement of the various respondent classes--Title I leaders, project staff, school administrators, etc.

The series of interviews will be conducted in a sequence similar to the field research described in this report. Table 6 indicates the various levels of interviews involved, the order in which they will be contacted and the principal objectives of each. Generally speaking, the primary interview is at the project leader level and all the others serve, basically, to corroborate and expand upon the project leader's responses.

4.2 Program Information. Table 7 presents an outline of the data requirements, instrumentation and information sources pertaining to the following four areas of program information:

A. Type of program refers to the general function of the program and the specific need area to which it is addressed.

B. Scope of program refers to a variety of "facts" that describe the program.

TABLE 6

SEQUENCE AND OBJECTIVES OF PROPOSED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interview Series 1 Central Office Level	Interview Series 2 Project Leader Level	Interview Series 3 Project Staff Level	Interview Series 4 School Administration Level	Interview Series 5 Community Level
1. provide orientation to district officials re: project purpose and interview activities 2. obtain overview of district's: a) organizational structure, and b) Title I history 3. identify project leaders 4. collect information relevant to leader and school climate factors 5. collect information to corroborate leaders' responses 6. collect information relating to the success of projects	1. collect information pertaining to relevant leader behavior 2. collect information pertaining to relevant leader attitudes 3. collect information pertaining to the vital statistics and relevant personality characteristics of leaders 4. collect information pertaining to relevant school climate factors 5. collect information relating to the success of the project	1. collect information relevant to leader and school climate factors 2. collect information to corroborate leaders' responses 3. collect information relating to the success of the projects		

TABLE 7

SPECIFICATIONS FOR COLLECTING PROGRAM INFORMATION

Information Need	Data Requirements	Suggested Instrumentation	Sources of Information
Type of program	Program purpose: remedial, cultural enrichment, health, etc. Need area: reading, arts, language, physical education, nutrition, etc.	Questionnaire	Title I Coordinator, Director of Federal Projects (or equivalent)
Scope of program	Program budget, activities, length; number and type of participants; number of schools involved; size of staff; grade levels affected; time of activity (during school hours, weekends, etc.)	Questionnaire	Title I Coordinator, Director of Federal Projects (or equivalent)
Additive-innovative	Relationship of program objectives to ongoing school activities; novelty of the program approach; experimental characteristics of the program; relationship of program objectives to pre-existing projects both within and outside of the school system	Questionnaire	Title I Coordinator, Director of Federal Projects (or equivalent), Project Leader
Success	Degree to which objectives are met	Success Rating Scale	Superintendent, Director of Federal Projects, Survey Interviewers.

-continued-

Table 7 Specifications for Collecting Program Information (page 2)

Information Need	Data Requirements	Suggested Instrumentation	Sources of Information
Success (continued)	Estimates of project staff morale	Success Rating Scale	Survey Interviewers
	Number and nature of project problems; absenteeism rate	Success Rating Scale	Title I Coordinator, Project Leader, Project staff
	Estimates of program success	Success Rating Scale	Central office staff, Project Leader, Project staff, School Administrators, Community Leaders.

C. Additive - innovative refers to the general nature of the program.

D. Success refers to an evaluation of program effectiveness.

4.3 Cluster Information. The charts appearing on the following pages present an outline of the methodology recommended for the collection of data pertaining to the suspected leadership determinants of Title I success. The entries provide the following information:

A. Cluster - The general leadership trait or climate factor of interest. Of the twelve clusters listed, the first seven relate to the characteristics of the project leader and the remaining five to the school climate.

B. Information Specification - The specific items (factors) toward which the data collection will be directed.

C. Instrumentation - The nature of the "tools" to be utilized in satisfying the information requirements. These are of three basic types: 1) data sheet for historical and behavioral data items, e.g., years of teaching experience, etc.; 2) off-the-shelf tests for measuring personality characteristics which have been standardized and are applicable to the Title I environment, e.g., creativity, empathy, etc.; and 3) to be developed (TBD) rating scales and attitude questionnaires for measurement of factors for which there are no standardized materials or which are highly specific to the Title I environment, e.g., attitude towards Title I, etc. These materials will be designed, developed and tested by the research team.

D. Data Sources - The classification of individuals, both within and outside the school hierarchy, from whom the desired information will be obtained. There are six such classifications:

1) Executive Level, e.g., superintendent, assistant superintendent, board members, etc.
2) District Administration Level, e.g., Director of Federal Projects (or equivalent), Title I Coordinator.
3) Project Leader Level.
4) Project Staff Level, e.g., teachers, consultants, librarians, etc.
5) School Administration Level, e.g., principals, assistant principals, supervisors, department heads, etc.
6) Community Level, e.g., parents, community leaders, etc.

On the charts that follow, where two or more levels are indicated for any one item of information, this implies the need to substantiate or corroborate the data.

CLUSTER	INFORMATION SPECIFICATION	INSTRUMENTATION	DATA SOURCES
EMPATHY	Level of empathy	Standardized test	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff
	Degree of emotional involvement and interest in the poor	TBD attitude questionnaire; Data sheet	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff
	Amount of previous experience with the disadvantaged population	Data sheet	Project leader
	Personal motives for working with the Title I population	TBD attitude questionnaire	Project leader
EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY	Attitude towards a total approach to educating the disadvantaged	TBD Attitude questionnaire; Data sheet	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff
	Attitude towards an educational philosophy that is oriented to the individual	TBD Attitude questionnaire; Data sheet	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff

CLUSTER	INFORMATION SPECIFICATION	INSTRUMENTATION	DATA SOURCES
EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY (Con't)	Attitude towards the purposes, procedures and philosophy of Title I	TBD Attitude questionnaire	Project leader
FLEXIBILITY	Level of adaptability	Standardized test	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff
	Degree of self-confidence and need for security	Standardized tests	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff
	Frustration tolerance level	Standardized test	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff
	Level of creativity and imagination	Standardized tests	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff
	Age	Data sheet	Project leader

CLUSTER	INFORMATION SPECIFICATION	INSTRUMENTATION	DATA SOURCES
DRIVE	Degree of perseverance and willingness to take chances	TBD attitude questionnaire; Data sheet	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff
	Level of enthusiasm for project	TBD attitude questionnaire; Data sheet	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff
	Degree of personal commitment to the project	TBD attitude questionnaire; Data sheet	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff
	Capacity to self-start and take action	TBD attitude questionnaire; Data sheet	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff

CLUSTER	INFORMATION SPECIFICATION	INSTRUMENTATION	DATA SOURCES
LEADERSHIP APPROACH	Attitude towards a teamwork approach	TBD Attitude questionnaire; Data sheet	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	Project staff, School administration
	Frequency and intensity of staff participation in planning	Data sheet	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	Project staff
	Level of visibility and accessibility to staff, students and community	Data sheet	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	Project staff, Community
	"Closeness" of working relationships with staff	Data sheet	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	Project staff, School administration
	Degree of an identifiable image provided (to staff and students)	Data sheet	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	Project staff

CLUSTER	INFORMATION SPECIFICATION	INSTRUMENTATION	DATA SOURCES
HUMAN RELATIONS SKILLS	Strength of communication skills	Standardized tests	Project leader
		TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff, School administration, Community
	Level of diplomacy and tact in personal interactions	TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff, School administration, Community
	Strength of public relations skills	TBD rating scale	District administration, Project staff, Community
SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE	Amount of project-related skills experience	Data sheet	Project leader
	Amount of teaching experience	Data sheet	Project leader
	Amount of experience within the school district	Data sheet	Project leader
	Degree of familiarity with the community	Data sheet	Project leader

CLUSTER	INFORMATION SPECIFICATION	INSTRUMENTATION	DATA SOURCES
COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM	Frequency and intensity of communications between project leaders	Data sheet	District administration, Project leader
	Frequency and intensity of communications between project staffs	Data sheet	Project leader, Project staff
	Frequency and intensity of communications between all levels of Title I associated personnel	Data sheet	Executive, District administration, Project leader, Project staff, School administration
	Frequency and intensity of Title I communications to non-Title I schools	Data sheet	District administration, Project leader, School administration
	Frequency and intensity of Title I communications to the community	Data sheet	Executive District administration, Project leader, School administration, Community
	Degree of informality of the communications network	Data sheet	District administration, Project leader, Project staff, School administration, Community

CLUSTER	INFORMATION SPECIFICATION	INSTRUMENTATION	DATA SOURCES
COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM (Con't)	Level of Title I orientation provided	Data sheet	District administration, Project leader
PROJECT SUPPORT	Degree of project support from the school administration level	TBD attitude questionnaire; Data sheet	Project leader School administration
	Degree of project support from the community	TBD attitude questionnaire; Data sheet	Project leader Community
	Degree of project support from the school superintendent and school board	TBD attitude questionnaire; Data sheet	Project leader, Executive
	Level of influence and efforts of central office individual with general responsibility for the project	TBD attitude questionnaire; Data sheet	Executive, District administration, Project leader
	Level of influence of the project leader	TBD attitude questionnaire	Executive, District administration, Project staff, School administration, Community

CLUSTER	INFORMATION SPECFICATION	INSTRUMENTATION	DATA SOURCES
STAFF SELECTION AND TRAINING POLICY	Amount of deviation of Title I employment policy from regular school policy	Data sheet	District administration
	Criteria for selection of leaders and staff	Data sheet	District administration, Project leader
	Degree of leader participation in staff selection	Data sheet	District administration, Project leader
	Amount of special Title I training of project staff	Data sheet	District administration, Project leader, Project staff,
TITLE I ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE	Proportion of total time expended by project leader in non-Title I responsibilities	Data sheet TBD rating scale	Project leader District administration, Project staff
	Scope of project leader's authority	Data sheet	Project leader, District administration
	Number of decision-making levels above the project leader level	Data sheet	Project leader, District administration

CLUSTER	INFORMATION SPECIFICATION	INSTRUMENTATION	DATA SOURCES
TITLE I ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE (Con't)	Percentage of time spent in Title I affairs by individual assigned the role of Title I program coordinator	Data sheet TBD rating scale	District administration Executive, Project leader
	Occurrence of organizational "dual allegiance" *	Data sheet	Project leader, Project staff, School administration
SCHOOL SYSTEM HISTORY	Amount of prior experience with programs for the disadvantaged	Data sheet	Executive District administration
	Degree to which various school and community interests were represented in overall Title I planning	Data sheet	District administration, Project leader, Project staff, School administration, Community
	Nature of the relationship (good/bad) between school system and supportive agencies (e.g., Community Action Agency)	Data sheet TBD rating scale	Executive District administration, Community

* refers to situation where the project staff is responsible to both the project leader and the school administration

CLUSTER	INFORMATION SPECIFICATION	INSTRUMENTATION	DATA SOURCES
SCHOOL SYSTEM HISTORY (Con't)	Degree to which projects were operational prior to Title I	Data sheet	Executive, District administration
	Degree to which manpower and resources have been committed to Title I	Data sheet TBD attitude questionnaire	Executive, District administration
		TBD rating scale	Project leader
	District attitude regarding the objectives to be attained by Title I	TBD attitude questionnaire, Data sheet	Executive, District administration
		TBD rating scale	Project leader

5.0 Treatment and Use of the Data

As is clear from the strategy outlined in the foregoing sections, the proposed research is not designed to measure success but rather to identify successful programs and then to isolate the clusters of factors contributing to success in different environments. Thus, upon surveying a sample of programs, it will be possible to classify each of them into one of the eight mutually exclusive cells defined in Figure 2. The distribution of programs (i.e., the answer to such questions as: do successful programs tend to be innovative?) can be tested by simple X^2 techniques. In order to determine the effect of the clusters and their factors, a factor analysis can be run on each of the cells independently. By comparing the loadings of a factor across cells, it will be possible to construct success and failure models. In addition, this design will permit the testing of hypotheses suggested by the factor analyses' patterns of loadings.

This design will not yield the relative strength of the factors' influence on success, a result that would require a multiple regression analysis which could only be run if the dependent variable (success) were measured on an interval scale. Since this is not the case, the entire value of the study will depend upon the validity and reliability of the observers' judgments and every effort must be made to assure these. However, in briefing observers (and in interpreting the results of the study) it must be remembered that part of the success-failure judgment may, in fact, be determined by precisely the factors under study. This is not perhaps as serious as it might be because as may be expected, the basic judgment will be derived from observation of program output while the clusters and factors are essentially process variables. Nevertheless, to the extent this is not true, the data will be biased and this must be borne in mind in interpreting it.

Appropriate computer programs are readily available on an off-the-shelf basis for the running of the above analyses.

		Successful	Unsuccessful
Cohesive	Additive		
	Innovative		
Diverse	Additive		
	Innovative		

Figure 2. Classifications of Title I Programs for modeling and evaluative purposes.

SUMMARY

In line with recent investigations associated with the evaluation of programs funded under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, this study was an attempt to respond to the general question: Why do certain Title I programs take hold and achieve some measure of success, while others do not?

Focus of the Study

Braced with the support of various educationally oriented and cognizant people and under the assumption that the leadership position is a major influence in the success or failure of tasks, the role of the Title I project leader was decided upon as the focus of the investigation. Specifically, it was intended that the research would uncover the characteristics of school leaders that relate to the success or failure of Title I programs. Additionally, the study was to provide research designs to test out the significance of the findings. A field survey approach was the technique to be utilized in accomplishing these aims.

Methodology

After initial orientation efforts (i.e., review of the relevant literature, discussions with expert individuals), a pilot survey of six school districts was conducted for the purpose of providing guidance, through first-hand experience concerning the procedures and instruments most appropriate for achieving the objectives of the study. The school districts participating in the pilot survey included: New Rochelle, N. Y., Elizabeth, N. J., Union, N. J., Rochester, N. Y., Niagara Falls, N. Y., Boston, Massachusetts.

The pilot survey clearly showed that the sensitive nature of the topics to be discussed required that an informal interview technique be utilized. The procedure decided upon was a loosely structured one, requiring no forms or questionnaires to be completed by the respondent--all information obtained during the interviews was later transcribed, by the interviewer, onto a standardized Interview Summary Form (see Appendix D).

Because of certain time constraints associated with the close of the school year it was necessary to utilize informal channels as a means of gaining entrance into local school districts. The following eleven districts were chosen to participate in the survey:

Phoenix, Arizona

Scranton, Pennsylvania

New Haven, Connecticut

Syracuse, New York

New Orleans, Louisiana

Le Flore County, Mississippi

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Amsterdam, New York

Torrance, California

Norwalk La Mirada, California

During the course of the field work, a total of 78 Title I projects were investigated and 280 individuals, from all levels within the educational hierarchy, as well as from the community, were interviewed. Although there was considerable flexibility in the field procedure, the general pattern was for the research team to hold the initial interview with the Superintendent or his appropriate staff assistant, and then to split up with each interviewer investigating different projects. Typically, each interviewer would meet with the project leader, project staff, and school administrators involved in a project. Occasionally, the interviewer would meet with individuals outside of the formal school structure (e.g., Community Action Agency Representative).

In order to analyze the findings of the survey, a subjective rating technique was utilized to classify the projects studied according to their nature and success rating. On the basis of these ratings, 40 projects were innovative in nature and 38 were additive (i.e., where the project was simply more, or an extension, of what was already in existence). Of the 78 projects, 35 were rated as outstanding, 34 as successful and 9 as unsuccessful.

Highlights of the Findings

The results of the survey appear to support the view that successful realization of a Title I project's objectives is dependent upon the interaction between three major variables--the people involved in the project, the school environment in which they function and the nature of the project. In conjunction with this finding, 28 factors related to the personality, behavior, attitudes and background of the project leader and 27 school climate (environment) factors have been hypothesized as having a significant impact upon the effective performance of the Title I leadership role. Clustered by common characteristic, the factors are as follows:

A. Leader Characteristics

1. Empathy

a. Personality trait of empathy
b. Emotional involvement and interest in the poor
c. Previous experience with the disadvantaged
d. Motivations for working with the disadvantaged

2. Educational Philosophy

a. Attitude towards a total approach to educating the disadvantaged
b. Attitude towards an individual-oriented philosophy
c. Attitude towards Title I

3. Flexibility

a. Adaptability
b. Self-confidence and need for security
c. Tolerance for frustration
d. Creativity and imagination
e. Age

4. Drive

a. Willingness to take chances
b. Enthusiasm
c. Commitment to the project
d. Capacity to self-start and take action

5. Leadership Approach

a. Teamwork attitude
b. Staff participation in planning
c. Visibility and accessibility
d. Nature of staff working relationships
e. Degree of an identifiable image presented

6. Human Relations Skills

a. Communication skills
b. Diplomacy and tact
c. Public relations skills

7. School and Community Experience

a. Project related skills experience
b. Teaching experience
c. Experience within the school system
d. Knowledge of the community

B. School Climate Characteristics

1. Communications System

a. Frequency and intensity of communications
b. Informality of communications
c. Provision of Title I orientation
d. Communications with non-Title I schools
e. Communications with the community
f. Communications between project leaders
g. Communications between project staffs

2. Project Support

a. Support from the Superintendent and school board
b. Support from the school administration level
c. Support from the community
d. Influence, and efforts of central office individual with general responsibility for the project
e. Influence of the project leader

3. Staff Selection and Training Policy

a. Relationship of Title I hiring policy to regular school policy
b. Criteria for selection of leaders and staff
c. Leader participation in staff selection
d. Special training of project staff

4. Title I Organization Structure

a. Project leader's non-Title I responsibilities
b. Authority of project leader
c. Levels of approval
d. Existence and responsibilities of Title I program coordinator
e. Conflicting project leader principal/responsibilities

5. School System History

a. Prior experience with programs for the disadvantaged
b. Participants in overall Title I planning
c. Relations with supportive agencies
d. Prior funding of projects
e. Commitment of manpower and resources to Title I
f. General objectives to be achieved by Title I

Recommended Research

In accordance with the need to test the significance of the findings, a research design is presented which, when implemented, will determine the impact of the factors upon success under varying environmental and program conditions. The design provides recommendations pertaining to: nature of the sample, information requirements, field procedures, instrumentation, data sources, and treatment of the data.

Assuming statistical support for these factors, the results of the study have clear implications for enhancing project support through better leadership selection criteria, improved training curricula and development of a predictive index of success.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

PERSONS CONTACTED IN CONJUNCTION WITH PRELIMINARY RESEARCH EFFORTS

Charles S. Benson, Professor, School of Education, University of California
Forrest E. Long, Senior Professor of Education (retired), New York University
Harold F. Clark, Vernon Taylor Professor of Economics, Trinity University
Harold B. Sloan, Director of Research at Fairleigh Dickenson University and President of the Institute for Instructional Improvement
Elias H. Porter, Director, Technomics, Incorporated
Daniel Griffiths, Dean, School of Education, New York University
Neal Gross, Professor, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University
Andre Daniere, Professor, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University
Joseph Cronin, Professor, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University
Andrew Halpin, Professor of Education and Psychology, Claremont Graduate School
H. Thomas James, Dean, School of Education, Stanford University
Robert Jaedicke, Professor, Graduate School of Business, Stanford University
Norman Boyan, Professor, School of Education, Stanford University
Matthew B. Miles, Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University
Henry J. Rissetto, Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University
Harold Noah, Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University
Philip Sorenson, Senior Psychologist, Stanford Research Institute
Thomas C. Thomas, Economist, Stanford Research Institute
Frank W. Lutz, Professor, School of Education, New York University
Jean Walsh, OE Title I Coordinator (Regional), New York City
Forrest E. Conner, Executive Secretary, American Association of School Administrators
Edgar Fuller, Executive Secretary, Council of Chief State School Officers
Gordon M. Becker, Professor, Ferkauf Graduate School, Yeshiva University
Richard Rosen, Director, Abt Associates, Cambridge, Mass.

Appendix B

Sample Letter Confirming Field Visits

April 21, 1967

Dr. William Tecler,
Director of Federal Projects,
Board of Education
41 Division Street
Amsterdam, New York

Dear Dr. Tecler:

This letter will confirm our appointment with you on May 15th at approximately 10:00 o'clock.

As I mentioned on the phone, we have a contract with the Office of Education to look at some of the "better" programs funded under Title I. The City of Amsterdam was suggested as a possible participant.

Essentially our purpose is to collect information and synthesize the ideas of the people who are directly involved in the implementation of the more successful programs of this type. Some programs really "take hold", are accepted with enthusiasm and seem to have a meaningful impact on the total environment in which they occur. We would like to find out what it takes to get such programs off the ground - what factors bring about the educational enthusiasm described above.

We are not there to evaluate, judge or criticize. Our function is to observe similarities and differences among better programs in several states and cull the ideas, experiences and recommendations of the people most directly involved in, and committed to, the objectives of these programs. All conversations will be informal, and no questionnaire or audio-recording devices will be used.

We will be arriving the evening before our appointment. Our schedule is completely flexible; we will be willing to meet with you and/or your people according to your availability during our stay. We would appreciate an opportunity to discuss schedules with you at our introductory meeting in your office.

We are looking forward to meeting you. Thank you for your interest and your willingness to help us.

Very truly yours,

Siegfried E. Finser
Manager, Education Systems Development

Appendix C

Sample Letter Informing State Departments of Education as to Survey Intentions

May 10, 1967

Mr. Herbert J. Edward
Coordinator of Title I
P. O. Box 911
State Department of Public Instruction
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17126

Dear Mr. Edward:

Informal visits to the Scranton and Philadelphia School Systems by several members of my staff have been arranged through Dr. Richard McNichols and Dr. David Horowitz.

We are performing under prime contract #DEC-1-7-062180-0404 with the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, but the nature of our visit is entirely informal. No instruments nor audio-recording devices will be used. We are not there to evaluate or in any way pass judgment. Our purpose is to talk with people involved in implementing some of the better Title I programs and come up with some hypotheses concerning essential factors required for such a program to "take hold" and meaningfully affect the environment.

The arrangements for visiting both Scranton and Philadelphia were made through personal recommendations and acquaintances. We are indeed pleased that these districts are willing and able to assist us in this way.

As part of good business practices, it seemed correct that you should be kept informed concerning this activity. We hope that you are willing to assist us if we have any questions or needs appropriately directed to you.

Sincerely,

Siegfried E. Finser
Manager, Education Systems Development

SEF:sa

INTERVIEW SUMMARY

Appendix D

Interviewer _____

Date _____

(A) School District: _____

(B) Name & Position of Person(s) Interviewed:

Project Leader

_____ Yes☐ No☐

_____ Yes☐ No☐

_____ Yes☐ No☐

(C) Was the primary purpose of the interview to discuss a specific Title I project?
Yes☐ No☐

If yes, was the project identified as "a most successful one"? Yes☐ No☐

Name and briefly describe the project and its objectives

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(E) In this section report the information you obtained, if any, that pertains to the topics listed below. If the interview did not involve a discussion of a particular topic simply write "Not Applicable" in the appropriate space. Please be very specific here, report all relevant and interesting incidents, examples, and anecdotes that were discussed.

1. School District Organization for Title I

2. Title I Planning

a. District planning for entire Title I program

b. Planning for specific Title I project

3. Selection of Staff for Title I Projects

4. Leadership Characteristics

a. Demographic (e.g., age, sex, etc.)

b. Professional (e.g., occupational and educational background, special experience)

c. Personality & Attitudes (e.g., need for security, attitude toward disadvantaged)

5. Communications re: Title I Activities

a. With the community (parents)

b. With the project leadership

c. With the project staff

6. Attitudes Toward Title I

a. Central office personnel (e.g., board members, Title I Coordinator)

7. Problem Areas in Title I

b. **Project personnel**

c. **Community representatives**

8. Recommendations As To What is Needed to Make a Title I Program Succeed

9. All Other Relevant Information

INTERVIEW SUMMARY FORM INSTRUCTIONS

(A) Fill out the name of the school district and the state in which it is located.

(B) Write in the name and positions of the people in the interview. A project leader is one who generally is found at the lower leadership level and has the following responsibilities:

1. planning the implementation procedures and staff assignments necessary to accomplish project goals
2. directing, motivating and evaluating project associated behaviors or staff
3. maintaining direct lines of communication with project staff
4. making initial attempts at resolving all project associated problems including personal problems of staff

(C) Some interviews with "top level" people will not involve discussion around specific Title I projects but will be centered around an overall view of Title I in the district. In interviews of this nature the NO box should be checked.

Identification of the "most successful" projects will undoubtedly come at your interview with the central staff (e.g., Title I Coordinator, Superintendent, etc.). When your interview concerns a particular project you should already know whether it is considered one of the more successful ones. The following criteria should be informally introduced when asking for an identification of the most successful projects.

1. The projects eliciting the most enthusiasm from both staff and community
2. The projects which have come closest to meeting their objectives
3. The projects which they would consider their "pet" or "spotlight" projects

State the general objective of the project (e.g., to improve the reading level of elementary school children) and briefly describe the project activities (e.g., added two remedial reading specialists for after school remediation). Try and determine whether the project is an innovative or additive one.

(D) In this section the interviewer should fill in his impressions of the person(s) interviewed. Try not to write down a series of vague statements, but back up what you say with as many concrete examples as possible. Included

in this section should be the image the person projects (e.g., honest, sincere, etc.) and not only what he says, but how he says it. You may have information about the individual interviewed from other staff people before you even meet him. Do your impressions coincide with what you have already heard about him?

For example: Mr. X was very impressed with himself. He talked continually about his role as initiator of Title I in his district. It sounded as if he had launched a one man campaign and was champion of Title I. Not until the end of the interview did we discover that he had two assistants working with him from the very beginning.

(E) An essential part of the interview is to record as many interesting anecdotes and examples as possible. The more informal the atmosphere of the interview, the greater the opportunity for anecdotes. The interviewer should attempt to write down these anecdotes verbatim for inclusion in parts of our final report.

An example of a relevant anecdote would be: In school X, Mrs. Smith, the librarian, had been working there for 20 years. Along with Title I funds for an enlarged library service came suggestions for less stringent rules for the students using the library. The librarian would not accept this change of procedure and quit.

This section is divided into nine parts. During the week of interviews the interviewers should gather information to cover all these areas, although any one interview may not involve a discussion of all the nine topics. These topics are a check list for the interviewer to assure some standardization of data from all the teams.

The primary sources for information may come from the Board of Education, Superintendents, Title I Coordinator, Project Leaders, Teachers, Community members, etc.

(E) 1. Fill in the present organizational hierarchy for Title I in the school district. This can be done through a chart or narrative description. Indicate the upper positions and work down to the lower level leadership in Title I. The objective of this section addresses the following question: Is Title I organization separate from or integrated with the regular school district organization? Is Title I organization a permanent or temporary structure? Where possible fill in the responsibilities that go along with the positions in the organization hierarchy.

This material will most likely be provided by the central office (e.g., Superintendent, Title I Coordinator, etc.) and upper level leadership. It may be

interesting, however, to also determine a lower level leader's perspective of the organization structure.

(E) 2. a. This section is primarily concerned with planning procedures for Title I at the district level occurring before the actual implementation of the program. The following types of information should be obtained:

Who initiated the idea of applying for Title I?
Who initiated program ideas?
Who opposed Title I (if anyone)?
Who was involved in the original planning (positions, groups)?
What were the channels of program approval?
What was the degree of staff participation in planning?

This material will most likely be provided by the central office and upper level leadership.

(E) 2. b. This section related more specifically to the actual Title I projects. We are interested in finding out how the individual projects were researched and planned and who was involved in the project planning.

Depending upon the nature of the program leadership (i.e., school or outside school) this information will be provided by either the central office or school project leaders.

(E) 3. All school districts have a procedure for selecting staff. The interviewers should gather information about how staff is chosen for Title I, whether it be management or teachers. What criteria is used to fill leadership positions and staff positions?

Once Title leaders are selected, do they in turn choose their own staff? Does Title I recruitment differ from the regular school hiring procedure?

Find out what characteristics they look for when hiring staff for Title I programs (e.g., background with disadvantaged youth, heavy teaching experience). This information can be provided by central office, project leaders and other leadership positions.

(E) 4. One of the major purposes of this study is to determine whether there are certain qualities and characteristics of leaders which tend to produce more successful Title I programs. There are different leadership styles just as there are different school environments in which leaders must function - the combination of the two will have a substantial effect on success of Title I programs. Although leadership is a somewhat intangible and abstract concept, there are certain concrete indices which are indicative of leadership styles.

The interviewer is not there to make a judgment about an individual's leadership, but rather to discover the characteristics of the "person" who happens to be the leader. Some of the information will be factual and some subjective.

(E) 4. a. Demographic characteristics include: age, sex, race, place and length of residence, socio-economic background, etc. This information can be provided by the leader himself or others who know the leader.

(E) 4. b. Professional characteristics of leaders include data such as: experience with multi-racial groups, human relations skill, occupational background, administrative experience, experience with disadvantaged youth, knowledge of relevant literature in education field, etc. This section involves the background and knowledge with which the individual comes to his present position. This information can be provided by the leader himself or others who know the leader.

(E) 4. c. Personality and attitude characteristics is a much more subtle and difficult area to collect information about. The interviewers cannot come out with direct questions, but must be alert to all the clues he might pick up from the leaders' comments or from other people on the staff who express opinions about the leader. Some of the information here will be similar to, or an outgrowth of, the section on the interviewer's impressions. Remember to use concrete examples whenever possible. Included in the section would be characteristics such as: attitude toward poverty problem, attitude toward change, level of enthusiasm for work, motivation for participating in Title I projects, degree of self-confidence, etc.

Personality characteristics example: Leader X, a 20 year employee, very security oriented, refused to accept any "rock-the-boat" suggestions from his staff despite the apparent value of these suggestions.

Attitude example: Y was elated with his appointment as a Project Leader, but he talked more about the opportunity this appointment afforded him for upward job mobility than about what he was doing in his project.

(E) 5. Another major concern of this study is to observe the types of communication patterns which are conducive to more successful Title I programs. Communications with leaders, staff and community about Title I activities may range from hardly any at all to a very open and free flowing system. The way in which the area of communication is handled in the school system may be a large factor in people's attitudes toward Title I.

(E) 5. a. Describe the content, frequency, and modes of communication that the school system (all levels) has with the community. The community can include both formal groups (e.g., PTA, NAACP) and the lay citizens. How

much effort is the school system making to encourage community participation in Title I? Who is responsible for involving the community? This information may be provided by the central office, project leaders, staff or community members.

To get a reliable "picture" it is recommended that at least one member of the community be interviewed.

(E) 5. b. Communication of upper level hierarchy with project leadership will help determine how successfully the leader can implement the project. What is the content, frequency, and mode of communication with superiors? Is the project leader left primarily on his own or are his activities highly structured by the upper hierarchy?

This information can be provided by the project leaders or central staff.

(E) 5. c. Communication between project leaders and staff is a key item in determining the impact of the project. The staff dealing directly with the educationally deprived youth receive their direction from project leaders and managers and therefore the relationship between the two is very important. Information should be obtained in the following areas: project leader's accessibility to staff, frequency and mode of communication with staff, content of communication, in-service training and orientation of staff to Title I, amount of direction and guidance given to staff, etc.

Information can be provided by project leaders, superiors and teaching staff. The staff's response to the project leaders communication will also give an indication of how they perceive him as a leader.

(E) 6. Attitudes toward Title I will directly affect the climate in which the programs must function. Attitude toward Title I is closely linked with communication. No matter how fine the project looks on paper, if the people involved in implementing the project have a non-committal or negative attitude toward Title I, the project will not be wholly successful. The key word in this study is "people", because they can make or break the greatest of plans.

(E) 6. a. Record in this section the general attitude of the central office staff toward Title I. The interviewer should try to see a board member, the superintendent, and upper hierarchy officials. Do not ask the question directly, but rather make an overall assessment of their interest and support of the projects.

(E) 6. b. Record in this section the project personnel's attitude toward Title I. This should include project leaders down through teachers and teachers'

aides. Attitudes may differ among individuals and it would be desirable to try and note the reasons for their attitudes.

For example: Mrs. X is a remedial instructor who views Title I in her school as ineffective. She feels this way because of a lack of guidance and planning on the part of her superiors.

(E) 6. c. Record in this section the community's attitude toward Title I programs. Their reactions will probably be based on the projects in their immediate school area. The interviewer should try to contact community groups, people who have some relationship with the school, and others who may not have a direct involvement.

(E) 7. In this study we are interested in having Title I people define some of the problem areas they have found in setting up and implementing Title I programs. What are the pitfalls and obstacles? In the interviewer's orientation book there is discussion on problems in Title I which can be used to formulate questions and initiate discussion around this area.

This section, (E. 7.) is a kind of summing up of problems which may have been introduced in other parts of the Interview Summary Form and should also include areas which were not previously mentioned.

Information for this section can be provided by central office staff, project leaders, supervisors and teachers. Interviewers should identify which groups the information is coming from.

(E) 8. The people with whom the interviewers are meeting have been involved in planning and implementing Title I. Their experiences in the program, both good and bad, should give them the advantage of knowing the ins and outs of Title I. The interviewer should ask them if they have any recommendations about handling Title I that could be passed on to school districts just starting out. In other words, they already know the ropes, what hints could they give a novice. This section can include any subject area.

These opinions can be obtained from central office staff, project leaders and supervisors. It is not limited to any one group.

(E) 9. Although interviewers must be sure to cover certain material, they have to also remain flexible. The informality of the interviews will hopefully induce free discussion on topics which may not be covered in the Interview Summary Form. Any information not provided for but relevant to the objectives of this study, should be noted in this section for use in our final report. This information can come from anyone that the interviewer speaks with during the week in the school district.